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VOLUME IV

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NUMBER 4

SOCIAL FORCES

A Scientific Medium of Social Study and Interpretation

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JUNE, 1926

VOLUME IV, No. 4

SOCIAL FORCES

A Scientific Medium of Social Study and Interpretation

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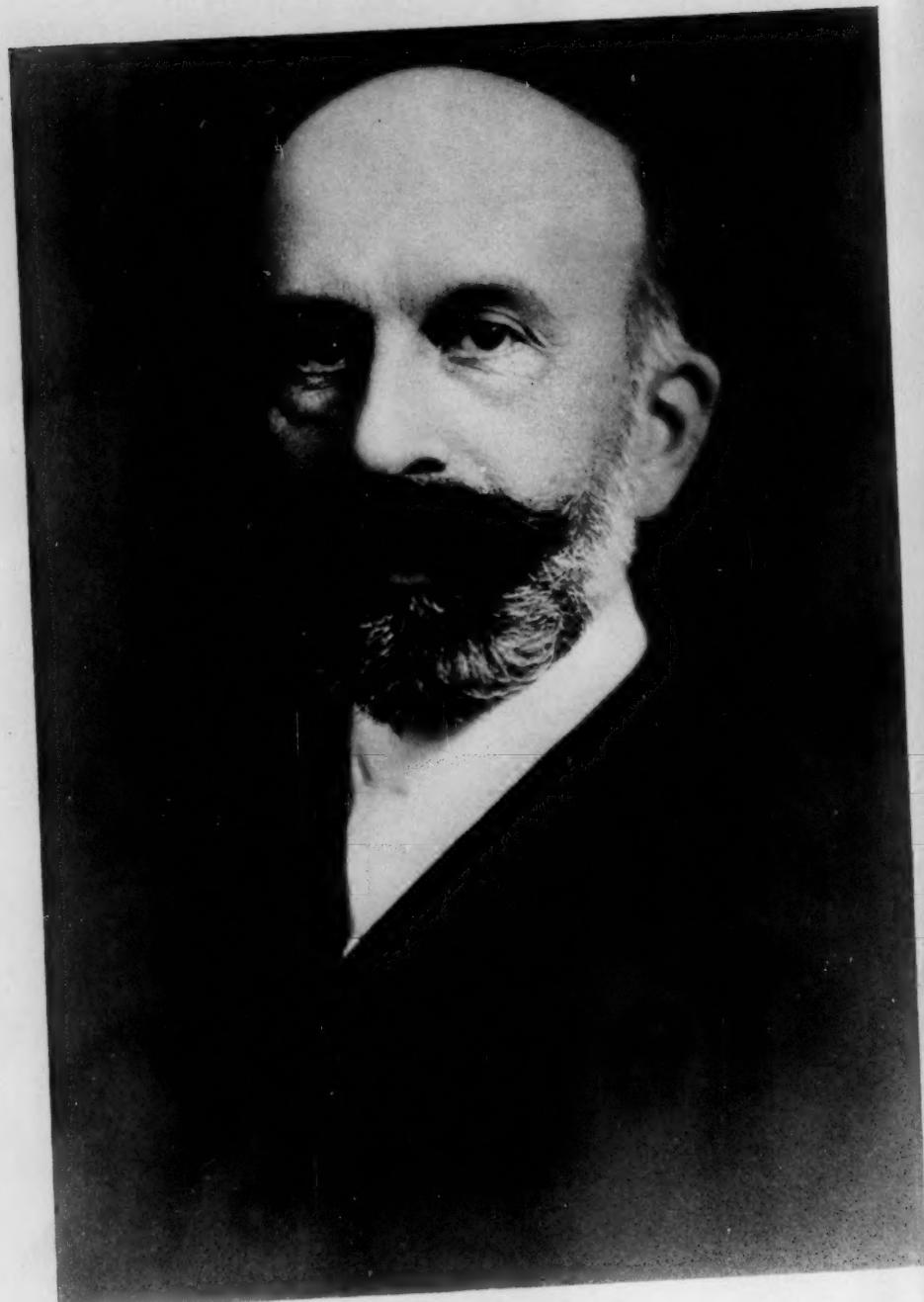
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MASTERS OF SOCIAL SCIENCE



ALBION WOODBURY SMALL

1854-1926

Volume IV

Number 4

SOCIAL FORCES

June, 1926

MASTERS OF SOCIAL SCIENCE: ALBION WOODBURY
SMALL¹

EDWARD CARY HAYES

MORE than any other American sociologist, Albion W. Small has mediated to us the results of European scholarship. The intellectual world is now one society. No nation would have had anything approaching its present scientific development without the collaboration of the scientists of different nations. Indeed, science as a national phenomenon is unthinkable. It is a part of the life of "the great society."

In order to understand the development of the intellectual attitudes that have characterized the life work of Professor Small and how he came to be so important a mediator between the scholarship of Europe and America, it is necessary to sketch briefly some of the events of his career.

Born May 11, 1854, at Buckfield, Maine, he was graduated from Colby College in 1876. Already as a student he showed the fondness for telling phrases and the

gift for constructing them which has always characterized his speech and writing. There is a tradition that when in the sophomore class in Moral Philosophy he was asked to draw the distinction between morality and religion he rose and said: "Morality is religion in her working clothes and religion is morality robed for the altar." If he sometimes swathed his thoughts in purple clouds he could also have been a great inventor of crisp slogans. And if he has sometimes used a rhetorical locomotive unnecessarily, he has often given to weighty ideas the momentum of an express train.

For the three years ending in 1879 he was a student at Newton Theological Seminary. The next two years he spent in study abroad, one year at the University of Berlin and one at the University of Leipzig. He had taken to Berlin letters which introduced him to the family of von Massow, where there was a charming daughter, and where with an American friend he was a frequent visitor. The two months of the summer vacation were spent by the von Massow family at Weimar, and at their invitation by the two

¹ Professor Hayes' article, as it will appear in the forthcoming book *Masters of Social Science*, will contain a much fuller statement of the salient contents of the works of Professor Small.—*Editors.*

Americans also. Before the summer was ended a relation was established which resulted in the coming of Fraulein Valeria von Massow to America as Mrs. Small, an event which more or less facilitated the life long intimacy of her husband with German life and thought. If it made an American of Mrs. Small it was far from making a German of her husband. And while his life-long appreciation of the noble elements in German traditions and German science was deeply sympathetic, his intimacy with German junkerdom made him a severe and discriminating critic of its faults.

After his return to America he was made professor of history and economics at Colby. In 1888-89, he took a sabbatical year which was spent at Johns Hopkins University, an institution of a type then new in this country, pervaded as is well known by a fine scholarly idealism, and at which there had been gathered a group of extraordinary teachers and students who became notable in the intellectual development of our country. While pursuing his own studies at Johns Hopkins he taught a graduate course in American Constitutional History to a class that included F. J. Turner, later professor at Wisconsin and Harvard, and J. A. Woodburn, later professor at the State University of Indiana.

During these years he was becoming increasingly impressed by the fact, now recognized far more generally than then, that in much of their research historians were not really finding out what mattered most, but were largely occupied with trivialities that would be gossip if they pertained to yesterday or the day before. He was disturbed by the inconclusiveness and relative futility of the results attained by much painstaking research. He realized that the permanent tendencies in human affairs, the inner method of

causation that determine the destinies of men and nations were not being revealed. He believed that such causal principles existed and that the search for them was the supreme intellectual task. He hoped to find a clue by the study of comparative constitutional history. And he became moreover an indefatigable but disappointed reader of the "philosophy of history."

On returning from Johns Hopkins to Colby he was elected President of the latter institution and remained in that office for the three years that terminated in 1892 with his call to the University of Chicago.

His administrative duties as president of Colby allowed some time for teaching and he proceeded to substitute in place of Noah Porter's *Moral Philosophy* a course in Sociology. This course was first offered in the third or spring term of 1891, and it was the second course in Sociology to be offered in any American institution, having been preceded only by the one given at Yale by William Graham Sumner.

For use in connection with this course he prepared a printed syllabus and source book in Sociology, "with special reference to the works of Comte, Schaeffle, Bluntschli, Lieber, Lotze, Spencer, H. C. Adams, Mulford and Ward."

When William Raney Harper was told that John D. Rockefeller proposed to give a large amount to revive the Baptist institution that had existed as the University of Chicago, and was asked whether he would accept the presidency, Professor Harper replied in the negative, but added that if Mr. Rockefeller cared to give enough for the purpose of founding a really great university then he would willingly undertake its presidency. Mr. Rockefeller recognized the calibre of the man who made such a proposition, as well as the character

of the project, and responded in the way now well known. Since then we have grown accustomed to large figures, and figures that then seemed monstrous now seem moderate. And when President Harper, in order to assemble a faculty of the highest eminence, offered to the heads of departments in the new institution annual salaries of seven thousand dollars each, the figure was unprecedented in this country. Among the heads of the departments thus assembled from England, Germany and the United States, was Professor Small, head of the first department of Sociology ever established in any institution in the world.

The creation of such a department was a bold stroke on the part of President Harper. And to accept the responsibility for conducting such a department was a pioneering venture on the part of Professor Small. But both men were pioneers and crusaders. The difficult situation was made still more difficult by the attitude of the head of the related department of Economics. And it is a testimonial to the qualities of Professor Small that among a faculty composed of men so highly distinguished in the more thoroughly established sciences as those who gradually were brought together at Chicago, in 1905 he was made Dean of the Graduate School of Arts and Literature.

Whatever may have been the attitude of teachers of the other social sciences there was no lack of able graduate students in the new department of Sociology, and the faculty of the department was augmented by the addition of Professors Charles A. Henderson, George E. Vincent and William I. Thomas.

Meanwhile Professor Small was taking deep interest in the approaches toward the sociological point of view on the part of many of the most gifted students of the older social sciences, by historians

like Guizot, Taine, Lamprecht and Laurence of Belgium, by political scientists like Bagehot, Bluntschli, and Stein—forerunners of Wallas and Kohler and Max Weber of Heidelberg, by economists like Schmoller, Wagner, Dietzel, Brentano, Boehm-Bawerk, Phillipowicz, Alfred Marshall, and John Stuart Mill, and by philosophers like Wundt, Simmel, Durkheim, and later Dewey and Hobhouse. For a time it seemed as though the contributions toward the developing movement that has taken the name of sociology which were being made by German social scientists were at least as notable as the hostility toward it that was common among social scientists in our own country.

This hostility in the case of some of them was apparently due to the fact that they were individualists of the old fashioned sort, while sociology as developed by men like Small and Ward and Giddings and Ross was largely a protest against individualism of the type suggested by the phrases "laissez faire" and "every man for himself."

It has been said that the meeting of the American Economic Association held in Philadelphia in 1917, including a joint session with the American Sociological Society, celebrated the funeral obsequies of the doctrine of laissez faire. But it would hardly be too much to say that during the first decades of Professor Small's connection with the University of Chicago that doctrine was the summary and conclusion of economic teaching as presented by the majority of its professors in the United States.

There is a sense—but quite a different sense—in which sociology is as individualistic as economics ever was. For sociology holds that the values experienced by every individual count at par, that though the values experienced by different in-

dividuals are not all equal they are all equally real, and as realities are not to be disregarded, that, in the phraseology of Kant, "no human being is to be treated as a means only but as an end in himself," that there is no *social value*, of that ultimate sort which is an end in itself and to which all other values are means only, save the aggregate of individual values, and that if social value is more to be regarded than individual values it is because the sum is greater than its parts.

Within two years after Professor Small came to Chicago, there appeared in 1894 an *Introduction to the Study of Sociology*, the first text book in Sociology ever published, which he had prepared in collaboration with his pupil and colleague, George E. Vincent.

Before another year had passed the *American Journal of Sociology* was founded as one of the publications of the University of Chicago Press, and he became its editor-in-chief, a position which he held until his death. The importance of the part played by this journal under his discriminating editorship in affording an avenue of publication and of communication between sociologists during the period of development that has intervened since its first appearance in 1895, can hardly be over-estimated. It has been true to a scientific ideal and has achieved an enviable reputation, not only in this country but in other nations as well.

Professors Simon Newcomb, Hugo Munsterberg and Albion W. Small were appointed to arrange and conduct a Congress of Sciences in connection with the World's Exposition at St. Louis in 1904. They went to Europe and personally invited about 200 outstanding scholars, chosen after consultation with American specialists. One hundred and seventeen of the distinguished list accepted. These together with American scholars pre-

sented a program of papers of such a character that one high authority has said the eight volumes of proceedings of the congress afford a more adequate conspectus of the state of knowledge at the end of the nineteenth century than the writings of the encyclopedists did for the eighteenth.

Professor Small was one of the chief actors in the organization (in 1905) of the American Sociological Society, and in 1911 he became its third president, holding that office for two consecutive terms.² In 1913 he was elected a member of the International Institute of Sociology which has its seat in Paris.

In 1905 Professor Small published his *General Sociology*, a work of more than 700 pages (an elaboration of the concept of *The Social Process*) which must still be regarded as his *magnum opus*.

Half of the *General Sociology* was presented as "an interpretation of Spencer, Schaeffle, and Ratzenhofer, and has been the principal medium through which these two German writers have become familiar to readers in the United States. His "interpretation" of the three authors just named is by no means a slavish adoption of their ideas, it is a critical discussion which gives full credit for what is taken over, intermingled with Professor Small's own conceptions.³

Two years after the publication of the *General Sociology* appeared *Adam Smith and Modern Sociology*. In this book Professor Small emphasized the idea of a desirable synthesis of all the social sciences. He said "Sterility must be the fate

² Lester F. Ward, William Graham Sumner and Franklin H. Giddings were his predecessors.

³ The author's more complete description and evaluation of the various works of Dr. Small are condensed in this article, but will be included in full in his chapter in the forthcoming book *Masters of Social Science*.—Editors.

of every celibate social science," and "cross-fertilization of the social sciences occurs in spite of the most obstinate programs of non-intercourse." His zeal carried him somewhat further than his later judgment approved and he even asserted that "an objective economics without an objective sociology is as impossible as grammar without language."

After another interval of two years, in 1909, appeared *The Cameralists*. This book is an important achievement of scholarship in a field not elsewhere adequately treated in English.

The Cameralists undertook to supply the wisdom necessary to guide the government of states. The "Kamer" was the council chamber and the "state" was the German principality, little or great, as German principalities existed from the middle of the sixteenth to the end of the eighteenth century, long before their union under Bismarck into the German Empire. The wisdom necessary for the government of states is largely fiscal so that cameralistics was a mixture of political science as developed under absolute princlings, princes and kings, with economics studied with particular reference to taxation and full coffers for the state. But it was not oblivious to the welfare of the subjects, though strictly subordinate to that of the state, or as Machiavelli would have put it more frankly, of the prince. And it paid heed to all matters that affected the strength and glory of the political unit, including population increase and the intelligence, morals and religion of the people. Cameralistics therefore developed as a composite study of the life of a particular type of social unit with special reference to a definite practical purpose largely symbolized by the strong box of the prince.

Here were worked out the maxims of a

prudence, both comprehensive and detailed, in striking contrast, as Professor Small remarks, with the "slovenly, improvident, and reckless" management of natural resources and opportunities by unregulated democratic individualism in America.

Cameralistics had two pronounced similarities to sociology as Professor Small conceived of sociology: First, it was a composite or synthetic study of the life of a people regardful of the interrelation of the different components of their social activity. Second, it conducted this synthetic study under the guidance of a practical aim, though the aim was an absolutistic one and not the democratic aim of realizing values in the individual experience of the members of society. With reference to its practical aim cameralistics was not so nearly identical with sociology, as Professor Small conceived it, as was the *System of Moral Philosophy* of which Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, according to the intention of its author, was a fragment.

Only a year after the publication of *The Cameralists* there came from the pen of Professor Small a book entitled *The Meaning of Social Science*. It was made up of a series of lectures that had been delivered to a company of graduate students drawn from all the social science departments of the University of Chicago.

The primary proposition in these lectures is that separate social sciences, although they realize its truth, are too little guided by the principle that "knowledge of human experience can not at last be many; in the degree in which it approaches reality it must be one knowledge." It may take a million words to describe the San Francisco earthquake, but it was one occurrence. And the seeming divisibility of our description merely exhibits its clumsiness and the contrast between our

"symbolism of representation" and the unity of the objective reality.

There is an obvious connection between this principle and the interest which Professor Small felt in cameralism as a study of the organization of society as a unit, and in the "moral philosophy" of Adam Smith as one system of thought including an investigation of all the divisions of man's social activity.

The second thesis of the book is that social sciences will discover their unity by realizing that they are studies of men, that no abstraction from the life of man, however essential in subdividing the work of detailed comprehension, whether that abstraction be "government," or "wealth" or "society," must be allowed to obscure the fact that specific researches into these abstractions have *their meaning* as contributions to the study of men, of men acting in pursuit of purposes in ways conditioned by a material environment, and by the activities of other men, and the men themselves in so doing becoming something other than they were.

His third main proposition is that knowing includes evaluation, that in our study of the life of man and all that affects it evaluation cannot be escaped. Evaluation begins with perception itself. It is essentially involved in our reaction to reality. The question is whether evaluation shall be made with the benefit of as adequate contact with reality as is possible to the cooperative endeavor of competent investigators. The very declaration that social science ought to abstain from valuations is itself a valuation and an imperative, but a mistaken because an impracticable one. A concensus of the competent as to values may not be final or absolute. With absolutes human intelligence has neither concern nor competence. But evaluation we cannot escape and it may be superficial and ignorant or in vary-

ing degrees scientific, that is to say based upon knowledge of the realities of human experience and of the conditions by which they are affected.

In 1913 a book of Professor Small's appeared which is quite different in character from any of his other published works. It is fiction in the form of conversation. And the conversation is social philosophizing. Four hundred and thirty pages of undeniably clever conversation, often too clever to be easy reading for the many, always carrying a heavy load of social philosophy with a slender thread of incident and characterization. The book is entitled *Between Eras* with a subtitle "From Capitalism to Democracy." It is largely a prophecy, and one that at least in part appears to be on the way toward fulfilment.

Professor Small's most recent book, now just from the press, is entitled *Origins of Sociology*. Its contents have appeared as a series of articles in *The American Journal of Sociology*. Its preface tells us that it is supplementary to his *Fifty Years of Sociology in the United States*, which appeared in *The American Journal of Sociology* in May, 1916, and that among his unpublished manuscripts is one entitled "The Development of Sociological Consciousness in the United States.

It is appropriate to remark here that the articles which he has published from time to time in the journal just mentioned, during the long period of his editorship, are a significant part of his work.

The "origins of sociology" which are traced in this latest volume follow a line of descent which runs mainly through the writings of the German historians, economists and political scientists. It is thus a supplement to *The Cameralists*, dealing with the more recent German authors, but beginning with Thibaut, Eichhorn,

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Niebuhr and Ranke, dealing with the "historic" and "Austrian" schools of political economy, and "the restoration of ethics in economic theory" as well as with representative political thought and culminating in the group of German writers of whom Gustav Schmoller is representative, and ending with "the emergence of sociology in the United States."

It is important to observe that in this latest book representing its author's maturest judgment, Professor Small reasserts at the outset the view that "the indicated task for social science" (not of sociology alone) "is to interpret the meaning of human experience, and to find out how human experience may be directed in the future toward a larger output of life's values." This assertion may easily be misunderstood to indicate an excess of emphasis upon the practical and ethical, and some lack of regard for the scientific approach. But the one subject oftenest stressed by Professor Small is methodology. And on that subject the one idea above all others which he intones is the necessity of objectivity. He evidently believes that the motive to provide guidance for life may reinforce, and not inhibit, the motive of pure intellectual interest, and also that the double motive need not distort the method. The practical and the scientific motive may combine as joy in workmanship combines with desire to produce or to earn wages to make a better carpenter than either motive alone would produce.

Again, he insists upon the unity of social science.

Just as theorists of innumerable sorts have mangled and shredded the Bible so as to make it teach the most incongruous and contradictory counterfeits of wisdom; just as believing and unbelieving students of the Bible alike have abstracted phrases from it, and constructed those abstractions into systems of posi-

tive or negative faith, more or less distantly related to the substantial contents of the Bible when comprehended in its genetic relations, so the different exponents of social science tore human experience to pieces, and reconstructed the shreds and patches which particularly interested them into so many competing interpretations of human experience (p. 9).

In fact, human experience is one volume. It must be read as a whole. Each part must give meaning to every other part. It may and must be analyzed into its elements. It can be understood only by synthesis of its elements (p. 10).

The totality of human experience is too big, too complicated, too unexplorable to be exhibited by the human mind as a complete and inclusive system of functioning parts, with each event throughout the length and breadth of human experience, bearing its actual relation to all other events. . . . Our ideal at present is discovery of typical, qualitative relationships of antecedent and consequent, of cause and effect, of harmony and disharmony, of stability and instability, of constructiveness and destructiveness in human groups (p. 26).

The immediate purpose [of this book] is to show that sociology was not created by the fiat of a few individuals who had no attachments to previous and contemporary scientific growth. On the contrary, sociology is merely the latest differentiation of scientific procedure within a containing movement which must be understood in general in order properly to understand the functions of sociology (p. 10).

The differentiation of sociology was one of the incidents of this evolution. This has not been the conception of their specialty which American sociologists as a rule have held. This book then is primarily an attempt to show the vital connection between sociology and the whole modern unfolding of social science. In other words it should make plain that the movement of thought in the United States which is known by the name "sociology" is not an isolated phenomenon. It is not a freak. It is not something that has an existence by itself, independent of and unrelated to the rest of the thinking of mankind. It should show that the precise contrary is the case.

In other words, between 1800 and 1880 everything that we now call social science went through a change which may be likened to the passing of an individual from babyhood to adolescence. The sociologists have not generally appreciated the fact that their specialty came into existence as an organic part of this maturing social science as a whole. . . . It would be possible to make a dramatic exhibit of the smuggling into conventional social science, not to speak of popular thought, of processes

of sociological analysis and construction that have been carried on in all the social sciences, during the last two decades in particular, by men who mostly have denied with scorn and often with curses that they have anything in common with sociology.

Professor Small concludes this book, with a chapter on "The Emergence of Sociology in the United States." He protests against the common practice of calling anything and everything sociology if only it deals with society and is not otherwise classified. And he reiterates his statement that sociology is a definite technique of investigation and that its chief methodological tool is the concept of "the group" and that its primary procedure consists in identifying and explaining types of behavior that are made possible by group relations. He clearly recognizes that to many sociologists this "group concept" seems vague and inadequate as a symbol for the sociological technique, but insists that for his mind it serves that purpose well.

At this point it may be permissible to quote a personal letter of Professor Small, because it gives a glimpse of the man truer than mere description.

If you consent to tell the world anything about me, don't mince matters at all in telling the plain blunt truth that I spent my life insisting that there *is* something at the far end of the sociological rainbow, and at the same time altering my view of *what* that something will turn out to be, with every year's accounting of stock.

The one impulse that has remained constant in spirit, with developing details of content, has been the conviction that experience will never let itself be interpreted as an affair of aggregated monads, but that somehow we live, move and have our being as members one of another. Some day that will be the unquestioned *a priori* of everybody. If my name is anywhere extant at that time, I hope it will have a tag attached with the memorandum "he had something to do with laying the individualistic superstition."

Professor Small is a man of distinct personality; of all his traits the most

fundamental is that he is in earnest about life. He does not take life jestingly nor cynically but seriously and hopefully. This is the reason why he is a sociologist. Sociology he regards as a study of life with a view to understanding it in order that its values may be realized by men. His interest is primarily ethical, that is, it is an interest in the values of human experience and the method of their realization. He became and remained a sociologist because he believed that this realization of values could be promoted by understanding. He realized that the values of life are not mere incidents of life but that they are of its essence. It cannot be truthfully conceived or described if the fact that it is weal and woe is omitted from the conception or the description. His dissatisfaction with the older social sciences was due to the fact that their perspective seemed to him to be distorted by their omission of this central fact. To restore this fact to its central position gives to social science a new perspective and a new orientation. The fact of value in experience pervades life in all its subdivisions. This fact gives to all life unity and coherence as an object of study. There is also another fact which is also a part of the unity and coherence of life, namely, the fact of interdependence. No individual human life is possible and the values of no individual human life are realizable except by virtue of this fact of interdependence. Adequate recognition of these two facts taken together constitutes the sociological point of view as it was held by Professor Small. The specific insights which this point of view makes possible are numerous and their completeness increases with the passage of the years and with the labor of many minds. They are at first mere glimpses, so incomplete as often to be replaced as knowledge grows. But the

growth of knowledge serves to increase the clearness with which these two central facts are perceived and with which their importance as guides to understanding is realized.

At certain points I have been obliged to dissent from the views of my former teacher. But I have done it in the spirit of the German writers whom he quotes, and who paid high honor to their predecessors and contemporaries in science even in the act of disagreeing with them.

Posterity will find his monument, not in this sketch, but in his works. But while his works will perpetuate his contributions to sociology and many without knowing its source will feel the momentum which he has done so much to impart to the sociological movement, his works cannot convey to his successors an adequate understanding of the character of the man which caused his contemporaries to regard him not only with lasting honor but also with deep affection.

COMMUNITY CONCEPTS

JOHN M. GILLETTE

I. TERM COMMUNITY

SCIENTIFIC workers are frequently confused and baffled by being confronted with terms in their fields of work which are used in several ways. One may think clearly in the situation by setting a definite meaning to the term in question but one may not obtain a clear conception of the position of other workers nor write convincingly so long as the term depended on carries more than one meaning. It is questionable if there is another term so largely employed and depended on for exact representation which is used with so many meanings as the word social. Scarcely anyone knows what scope or phase of social phenomena an author means to designate in his use of it. It would be worth a good deal of effort to corner and confine that valuable word to one definite connotation.

The term community has not been in quite as unsavory a situation. Still in our casual reading we would likely discover quite distinctly dissimilar usages, ranging

all the way from the small country district up to national and international situations, indicating that there is more or less confusion of thought about it. However, the impression has grown with some of us that there has been a rather definite though largely unconscious drift among writers and workers toward confining the term to represent some sort of a collective situation in relatively small localities. This may probably be regarded as a desirable development and we may hope that this evolutionary transformation will be completed.

My attention having been directed to the community idea recently, I became interested in ascertaining the current meaning of the term. My own mind had been made up relative to the nature of the rural community a number of years ago during the preparation of my volumes on rural sociology, especially the last one published. When I consulted a few sociological books and articles, I found either no mention or definite statement concerning community, or a vague or divergent signification attached to it.

Consequently I undertook a somewhat extended investigation in quest of the meaning those who most deal with the term attach to it. I examined a considerable number of articles, pamphlets, and books whose titles contained the term or gave promise that the text would consider it.

TABLE I
KINDS OF USAGE OF THE TERM COMMUNITY FOUND
IN 61 ARTICLES, PAMPHLETS, AND BOOKS, AND THE
DISTRIBUTION OF OCCURRENCES, BY MEANING AND
BY PUBLICATION

USAGE	NUMBER OF PUBLICATIONS FOUND IN:		
	Periodicals	Pamphlets	Books
1. Country district or village...	30	8	5
2. (1) or city.....	6		3
3. City or larger area.....	1		
4. (1), (2), or larger.....	2	1	1
5. Society generally.....	3		
6. Neighborhood.....	1		

The articles selected were contained in the files of *The American Journal of Sociology*, *The Publications of the American Sociological Society*, the *JOURNAL OF SOCIAL FORCES*, the *Journal of Applied Sociology*, and a few other publications. The pamphlets were only those I had conveniently at hand and were products largely of community investigators, especially in rural districts. The volumes likewise were those nearby on my shelves. No attempt at an exhaustive survey was intended. It was believed that this method of random sampling would sufficiently reveal the trend of usage.

Table I gives a crude picture of the situation. The usage groups are only approximate and considerably overlap one another.

For our purpose, it will be sufficient to speak of the distribution of usage groups without reference to the different

classes of publications. These few points stand out rather obviously. Only 6 of the 61 publications employed the term community for a larger area or group than the city. Only 3 used it to signify society generally, besides application to small localities. Judging by either explicit delimitations or contextual symptoms, 44 publications confined the idea and term to small local areas, such as open country areas or villages. It would not be safe to say that an author who applied it locally but who did not explicitly define or delimit the term, might not apply or think of the term in a broader or more general way. But in going through the articles to get the writer's meaning, I was strongly impressed that most of them took for granted or stated outright that the idea pertained to a small locality.

The following further remarks on the investigation may be of interest. The frequent use of the term community in the title of articles and other publications is largely a matter of the last few years. It seldom appeared in the titles found in the early volumes of the files of the *American Journal of Sociology* and *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, our oldest sociological publications. But during our participation in the Great War and afterward, such titles became frequent. Probably community work, so much emphasized during our years of war, together with the community center and kindred movements account for this development.

It was found that writers in the field of general social theory or general sociology are more likely to use the term widely and vaguely than are those who are now facing more concrete situations. Those interested in local areas chiefly may either assume that the term community fits such localities or they may have employed it after thoughtful consideration. There is

apparently a strong inclination to avoid applying the term community to society in the abstract and also away from regarding a large city as a community. My own view is fairly well reflected in the statement of Professor Dwight Sanderson that there is nothing of a community nature to be found in a metropolitan city as a whole (*Publications Amer. Sociol. Soc.* 14:84-7). Such a statement is made to be sure after we have arrived at our own position relative to the nature and extent of a community—of course after due deliberation.

We may ask what bearing the findings of this little investigation does, or should have on the employment of the term in question. The survey was made simply as a means of personal enlightenment, secondarily for the public. It helps to reveal to us the usage situation relative to this one important word. Individuals who read about it will go on their publicist ways with divers interpretations no doubt. I have no inclination to point a moral. Truth itself is a sufficient monitor to the intelligent.

II. NATURE OF COMMUNITY

The community may be regarded as a society. This is necessary because it is either a part or is not a part of what we commonly call society, that is, society in general or the big society. It is, of course, absurd to say that it is outside of society for only backward and out-of-the-way small local groups could possibly be external to this "great society."

If the community is a part of society, then it must partake of the traits and characteristics of society in general. It is only parts that are mechanically hitched up with or into total structures, such as artificial teeth, eyes, silver skull plates, and the like introduced as part of the human body that could ever be regarded

as being of a different nature from that of the structure in which they are articulated.

This does not mean that the community, as a small portion or representative of the great society, partakes necessarily in or possesses all the characteristics of society generally. It is at least conceivable that by reason of its extent and vastness the great society comes to possess traits that do not inhere in the local situation. Power, authority, sovereignty, differentiation of function, and other qualities obtain in larger national societies and seldom or never in communities and neighborhoods.

But the community, just by reason of the fact that it is a part of society, must have, at least, the most primal social characteristic, the trait without which no society would be society. We may call this association intercommunication, or what not, but what it is sought here to convey under this heading is the quality which makes or constitutes association and so society, namely, influencing others and being influenced by others.

It is a matter of usage or of arbitrary settlement regarding the exact connotation to be given to the term community. On the one side stands the neighborhood, a term quite as vague as that of community but whose content of meaning is quite generally conceded to be, I think, somewhat less, something more attenuated than that of community. On the other side stands the great society, vaster in extent and richer in content, although the term community is sometimes used practically synonomously with the term society. There is a growing recognition that there is a place and function in scientific thought for a term and idea to bridge the area between neighborhood and society. This is found, not with clear-cut boundary lines to be sure, in the large

use of the term community and the associations promoting community matters.

I have elsewhere tried to set forth the distinction between the meaning of rural neighborhood and rural community.¹ It may not be clear whether I represented there what actually obtains as to meaning or made an argument in behalf of distinctions which should be made. At any rate, the distinction between neighborhood and community is well worth drawing both in thought and usage.

We doubtless think of either in a territorial sense, as a more or less vaguely bounded locality or region. In the psychological sense, also, they are so similar in nature at bottom as to be differentiated with difficulty and perhaps arbitrarily. Their resemblance in this respect arises, of course, from the fact that both are parts of society and so partake alike of the essential nature of society in that in both individuals act and react upon one another and hold certain idea patterns in common. A neighborhood in a small society or form of society. So also is a community. We may employ terms identically, indeed, but it is apparent we need terms to express gradations in social development in our representations of them.

What is the distinction between the neighborhood and the community, basing our reply on sociological versus geographical or territorial grounds? Let us suggest that the differentiating criterion is a considerable degree of organized and directed coöperation. If the appearance of simple but sporadic coöperation were to be regarded as marking the emergence of the community out of the neighborhood, then there would only be the community, for simple and sporadic coöperation begins immediately after any sort of society appears. Neighboring within an un-

organized and sparsely inhabited region is a form of coöperation. Neighboring in such a situation means visiting back and forth, borrowing and lending, calling upon one another for and extending to one another aid, and similar activities. However, if we make the community consist of organized coöperation, we have differentiated it from the mere neighborhood in the sense of neighborhood just depicted.

So much then for the delimitation of the meaning of community in a large general way. Now what can be said more in particular concerning the traits of the community? The following are suggested, but not as exclusively peculiar to it.

Some of the more important characteristics we find lodged in the community, disregarding now the point as to whether or not all of them are peculiar characteristics of it, may be given as follows:

1. Narrow territorial localization. This is the necessary foundation of some of the other characteristics. A wider area of occupancy would modify the dependent characteristics in a notable manner.
2. Face-to-face contact, a frequent give-and-take between inhabitants. This makes for an intensity of fraternal and neighborly feeling which is unknown in larger populations.
3. Common interest or interests, an expression of some features in the situation which in some way touch all inhabiting the locality. The content of the interest may be similar to or unlike that of common interests in other communities. The peculiar kind of interest common to those of one locality may be a means of differentiating that locality from localities otherwise similar.
4. Consciousness of kind on the part of the inhabitants. This is a recognition of certain similarities and agreements

¹ *Rural Sociology*, Macmillan, 1923, chap. 5 and p. 546-8.

obtaining among them and may relate to features in the geographical situation, in the name the district goes by, in some distinctive physical or psychological trait of the people, or in some peculiarity of social organization or institution.

5. Permanent co-operative organization for the realization of some interest or interests common to all inhabitants. Such organizations may be one or several; they are likely to be of a kind obtaining widely but may be of a kind characteristic of some given locality.

6. The existence of a center or centers of interest, that is, buildings or homes in which people meet to discuss common matters and to plan for their effectuation.

Two observations relating to these traits attributed to the community may be in order. First, the traits which differentiate the community from the neighborhood appear as five and six in the list. A neighborhood may at times have organization but when the occasion passes the organization ceases to exist. So far as this factor goes, the community is community because it keeps its organizational machinery in existence for continued use. Second, two of these traits mentioned, namely, narrow localization and face-to-face contact help to differentiate the community from large territorial aggregations of population, from national, state and perhaps great city societies, and from society in general or in the abstract. Perhaps, also, the close, confidential character of common interest and consciousness of kind obtaining in such small societies are marks differentiating them from larger societies, even from all cities except the smaller ones.

III. TYPE OF COMMUNITY

The method of analysis opens up to us constantly increasing avenues of learning. Upon first approaching a new field of

phenomena we are in the position of the author of the song, "All coons look alike to me." But after associating with these phenomena for a time, we perceive differences we did not see at first. Then we begin to cast the phenomena into different classes and the longer we are face to face with them, the greater or more numerous the divergencies we are apt to discover with the consequent multiplication of classes. This is what is transpiring in the field of the community. It is very evident that there is not just one form or kind of community. There are certainly several fairly well defined general types and within each of those in turn, there are seen to be various sub-types, although these classes have not as yet been very thoroughly classified and defined.

Thus we discover two general types, namely, the rural and the urban. Some might feel inclined, and for, perhaps, very good reasons, to make a third class, semi-urban or semi-rural, preferably the first. I am inclined towards this view because the vast majority of the smaller relatively dense populations in the United States in the form of both incorporated and unincorporated villages certainly are not rural and the most of them do not possess to any considerable extent, the characteristics peculiar to cities, at least of large cities. The historic meaning of rural is agricultural, concerned with agriculture, pertaining to inhabitants who follow agriculture. Anyone who knows agriculture at all, knows that few if any of the residents of our American villages, except where Mormonism dominates, on the average, participate directly in farming, make farming their business. Instead the great proportion of village populations of even 100 persons are merchants, shopmen, bankers, postmasters, barbers, draymen, etc., and their dependents and employees. Further, the populations of

these small places do not think of themselves as agricultural, and therefore rural. Their interests, ambitions, associations, sympathies and anticipations of future locus are all with and toward the urban population. They are as truly urban in spirit and interest, almost, as if they lived in a metropolis. It is a distortion of the historic sense of the word rural to extend it to these village and small city populations. If they are to be classed as either rural or urban, then by all means they should be thrown on the urban side.

As a means of helping to analyze the community into its various kinds, I am offering what I think of as an exploratory classificatory scheme of communities. It has no pretense of being final or very scientific. It only seeks to be a beginning toward a really scientific scheme of classification. Therefore it is just what it is intended to be, exploratory and incipiently suggestive. It seeks to impress the student with the idea that there really are different kinds of communities and that the job of locating and defining them is a worthy undertaking.

I. Rural communities

1. Peripatetic
2. Stationary
 - (1) Crop response
 - (2) Ethnic
 - (3) Open country
 - (4) Farm village
 - (5) Rural
 - (6) Single and multiple centers
 - (7) Graded according to culture

II. Semi-urban (tentative)

III. Urban communities and localities

1. The city as a whole—at least small cities
2. Infra city
 - (1) Business zone
 - (2) Industrial zone
 - (3) Residential districts
 - a. Wealthy
 - b. Labor
 - (4) Slum
 - (5) Apartment district
 - (6) Ethnic

- (7) Graded according to culture
- (8) Culture interest
 - a. School
 - b. Church
 - c. Social center
 - d. Recreation center

The portion of the scheme devoted to rural communities is that published in my *Rural Sociology* and is quite different from that presented in my *Constructive Rural Sociology*. I am not satisfied that it is the best classification of rural communities. It probably satisfies no critically minded student of the subject. Yet it is an approach sufficiently evidenced to furnish a point of departure for a more scientific undertaking. It appears to me to be the task of the specialists in the rural field investigative work to take up and complete the classifying of rural communities.

The point may well be made that some of the headings under urban communities and districts do not represent communities, or even neighborhoods, save in the locality sense. It is recognized that most of the sub-headings pertain to localities or areas of populations having some particular traits in common and these may not be communities at all. However, it may be that there are communities within the industrial zone, or the apartment district, let us say, and that wherever such communities do exist they are likely to be marked by the peculiar traits of their district, and so differentiated from one another and other communities. Thus, within the Gold Coast district on the North Side, Chicago, if there exists a real community it is likely to have certain traits fundamentally different from a community in the stock yard district on the South Side. Certainly the economic interests at the basis of such populations, the face-to-face contacts, the contents of the consciousness of kind, the aspira-

tions, the object of the common interests, and perhaps other traits are likely to be widely divergent.

Professor R. D. McKenzie, in his notable study of the neighborhood in Columbus, Ohio, who seems to think at times of the neighborhood, at others of the city as a whole, as a community (see *A. J. Soc.* 27: 161ff. for neighborhood in community sense), mentions the following classes of city neighborhoods in Columbus.

1. Poor, middle, and wealthy residential districts.

2. Racial and nationality groups based on consciousness of kind, language, and custom.

3. Industrial neighborhoods in which the selective factor is nearness to the factory.

4. Nascent, self-conscious, and disintegrating neighborhoods in the historical sense (*Ibid.* 27: 352-3).

He thinks the neighborhood seems much more homogeneous than it really is, due to the distribution of populations by reason of "economic, social, and cultural forces" (*Soc. Cit.* 27: 353).

His study seems to substantiate some statements previously made in this article that there may be a community within a district, such as industrial or residential, and that such community takes its coloring partly from the economic status. He also recognizes the ethnic group as a neighborhood and sometimes community.

We need more concrete investigative studies of the kind made by Professor McKenzie before we will be able to speak authoritatively concerning the different classes of urban communities and as in the case of classification of types of rural communities we must depend upon these conducting urban field investigations to formulate the scientific classification of urban communities.

The following comparative exposition

and tabulation of the characteristics of three kinds of community widely separated as to some of the descriptive traits may be of some interest. The comparative work was formulated some six or eight years ago for class purposes. The presentation of the second type, the town-country, or "rurban" community, may seem to run counter to previous statements that the village is not rural. Here it seems to be identified with the rural. However, we do have numerous situations where there is something of a community entity in the form of village and contiguous farms. This is scarcely ever more than partial so far as covering all interests goes. That is, there are interests in each group or population, village and agricultural, that is not common to the other. Especially in the economic field do the two sides fall apart and certainly their educational objectives are violently opposed, if justice is done toward realizing a vocational curriculum for farm boys and girls. However, to the extent there is such a dual sided community, town-country, the exposition stands as a description of its comparative status in certain important directions.

The open country community

1. Common interest or interests. Wherever the common interests are diffused, as in the case of sociability and neighboring, the community is nascent. But where some interest or interests become specialized, as in the case of the school, church and clubs, the community emerges. In the open country community the specialized interests are few at best. But one such specialized interest, other concomitants being present, is sufficient to bestow the community cast.

2. Boundaries. The population occupies a more or less definite territory, the boundaries seldom being exactly defined.

The boundaries may be but are not necessarily fixed by political, school, parish or other artificial limits. In some cases where the surface topography is favorable, a community of this sort may be quite definitely bounded by natural features, such as river or other stream, lakes, hills or forests. Open country communities, by reason of the indefiniteness of boundaries, merge and fuse into one another so that it is generally impossible to tell with certainty where one such community ends and another begins.

3. Center or centers of interest. A center of interest exists whenever or wherever an interest has a permanent housing. The location of the center or centers throws light on the extent of the boundaries or limits of the community. The limits of the community will be indefinite because the limits of the population patronizing the different centers differ. In a measure, there are as many communities in a given general locality as there are interests and centers of interest; but since the centers are likely to be located relatively near one another, there is a considerable population that is common to all centers because it patronizes them. Thus a church, school, and store within a mile of one another are likely to have a considerable number of families as common patrons and supporters.

4. Organization also emerges along with the specialization of interest and the establishment of a center of interest. A neighborhood is a neighborhood and not a community because its interests are unorganized. In an open country community the coöperative activities centering about some common interest take on the form of organization and are carried on continuously. Commonly, open country neighborhoods have at least one standing organization, such as the public school. As a consequence, there are few localities

in which the inhabitants do not participate, even though passively, in this form of organization at least.

5. Leadership. Some sort or degree of leadership is present wherever specialization of interest and organization occur. Public schools may be organized compulsorily, so that the initiating leadership is supplied from the outside, but a small degree is necessary to keep up school meetings and carry on the formal educational organization. Voluntary organizations call for a higher degree of leadership and successful institutions are an exhibit of the presence of considerable ability. The open country is handicapped for a trained, resident and so permanent leadership because of the low level of its local educational activities, the transiency of its preachers and teachers, and the migration of its trained members to populous centers.

6. Distribution of population. Open country populations are characterized by wide separateness of the homes and a low density per square mile in comparison with urban areas. This density varies not only from section to section of the nation but also within a given community. An expression of the former kind of variability is seen in the estimated density of the open country populations of the nine divisions of the United States, 1920, presented in Table II.

7. Technological and cultural element. Populations differ in their technological processes, or occupational activities, and this in turn has much to do with the nature of their culture, such as information, habits of mind, outlook on life, aspirations and appreciations, approach to thinking and acting on problems of government, education, and other matters. The occupation of open country inhabitants being extraction of agricultural products from the soil together with the

associated domestic or family activities, their cultural content and activities largely center about crops, their production and marketing, and about the family life, the institution most depended on for the satisfactions of life.

TABLE II
DENSITY OF OPEN COUNTRY POPULATIONS, UNITED STATES, 1920, BY DIVISIONS

DIVISION	POPULATION	FAMILIES
New England.....	16	4
Mid. Atlantic.....	56	12.7
E. N. Cent.....	35	8.1
W. N. Cent.....	15	3.3
S. Atlantic.....	34	6.8
E. S. Cent.....	38	7.9
W. S. Cent.....	16	3.2
Mountain.....	2	0.47
Pacific.....	8	1.4

8. Social stratification. This is slight in the open country localities of the United States usually. It could never anywhere be as extensive by way of social gradations in such localities as in great cities. In sections of the nation, racial differences exist and offer a basis for social cleavage, territorially or otherwise. Occasionally there is some indication of a slight but not as yet serious cleavage into farmers and hired men, owners of farms and tenants. The presence of foreign nationalities may also cause the appearance of sub-groupings within a country community.

Town-country, or rurban community

This kind of community in so far as and whenever it exists, as was said, is composed of an urban population core in the shape of village or small town ranging from a few homes to a thousand or more inhabitants and the contiguous

and surrounding farm population. For comparative purposes, we will view the traits noticed in connection with open country communities in the same order.

1. Common interest. Interests in general are more numerous here than in the former kind of community. Some of them are, however, common to both sets of population and some are not, probably the larger share are not. As things exist, there is some likelihood of coöperation with reference to church, school, recreation. If there is coöperation in school matters, the agricultural training features necessary to adequate rural education should be maintained. There is often a bitter split between farmers and the business element of villages over economic matters, such as patronizing local stores, marketing of farm produce, right of farmers to organize for political and economic action, local taxation, and the like. A split of this kind, if bitter, practically destroys the larger community, resolving it back into its primal parts.

2. Territorial limits. The boundaries of such a composite community are seldom definite or regular. There is probably a greater irregularity of limits than in the case of open country communities, because of the existence of a greater number of interests which draw in a differing degree upon the surrounding population. Thus fairs, sports, and amusements are likely to draw from a greater distance than church, school, or government. The areas for different kinds of trading purposes also differ.

3. Interest centers. The urban nuclear area is the locus of the interest centers of the village and farm populations, in so far as they coöperate. There are a considerable number of centers to which the inhabitants respond, some to one and some to another. Also, some centers are patronized much more largely by villagers

than by farmers. Each set of inhabitants may have some centers of their own not patronized by the other set.

4. Organization. There is a greater manifestation of organization than in the open country community. This is due chiefly to a greater number of interests and a greater combined population. Some organizations may have the spread of the wider community while others are restricted to only a fraction of the total area. Church and school organizations may extend to outer territorial limit while agricultural clubs encompass only the farm areas.

5. Leadership. Leadership is likely to be more plentiful in the larger population. This is doubtless due to the greater population to draw from, to the larger number of interests which serve to specialize and develop leaders, and to the presence of some professional and other more highly educated individuals than the open country is likely to afford. Nevertheless, the state of life in many American villages evidences either a dearth of competent leaders or the hopelessness of efforts to get a vital response where decay has so often set in. (See the writer's chapter on "Decaying villages of America," in *Rural Sociology*.)

6. Distribution of population. Measured by density of population per square mile, this type of community is densely populated in comparison with the open country. Measured by acre density within the confines of the larger community, also, contrasts in density are strong, the density at the nuclear being relatively great while that outside the village area being low. The nuclear density is measured by the size of the village while that of the contiguous country is governed by geography, fertility, land ownership and other factors.

7. Technological and cultural element.

Because of the larger population of the combined areas and especially because of the existence at the center of a large number of pursuits and professions, the technological character of the rurban community presents a more variegated aspect than does the open country community. As a consequence the culture element is more complex, habits more numerous, outlook more varied. There is a greater necessity for the adjustment of minds and reactions to one another. We might call the culture of the open country community an agricultural or a rural culture; but because of the diverse elements and especially because of the presence of the urban and the rural elements in this larger community, it is impossible to find a name suitable to express the character of the culture of the town-country community.

8. Social stratification. It is evident that the rurban community offers greater possibilities of social stratification than does the open country community. The racial and nationality elements may be more numerous, the occupational callings are more numerous and some of them carry supposed marks of superiority, while, like the lion and the lamb, the urban and truly rural elements can never lie down quite confidently together.

Urban communities

It is necessary to distinguish between the whole city as a community, in so far as it may be one, and fractions of the city which may constitute real communities. If face-to-face contacts are essential to the existence of the community, then the inhabitants of the larger urban areas cannot qualify as composing a community. Waving this question, we will take up a consideration of the same order of characters considered regarding the other community types.

1. The city as a whole has a large

number of interests common to all its inhabitants, such as problems of water, light, sewage disposal, transportation, drainage, education, and the like. There is also a city loyalty and pride in which all share. The portions of the city which may be considered communities, may also have the above named problems as common interests for their particular districts. A locality may be a neglected area where not only some functions the city government should exercise are neglected and so come to common consciousness but one where special problems, such as housing and health, exist by reason of the fact that the population may be a beaten and broken one. Beyond these there are a number of interests, such as schools, churches, recreation, and the like in which the local community has special interest or pride.

2. Boundaries. Legally, a city has definite boundaries set by its corporation. The population has a tendency to settle over the incorporation limits and to enjoy the advantages of the city without being legally identified with it. This portion of the inhabitants have fewer interests in common with the main body of the inhabitants than are enjoyed within the latter. Suburban and satellite cities arise about large cities and tend to form communities somewhat distinct. A neighborhood or community within a large city may or may not have definite boundary lines. In this it is much like the open country community. Likewise, communities merge and graduate into one another so that dividing lines are difficult to detect. Occasionally, there are quite definite artificial and geographical limits. Class and economic boundaries are most frequent, though not entirely definite.

3. Center of interest. Most cities have a central district where many interests are located. But there usually are various

other interest centers more or less patronized by the whole city which are scattered throughout the city. Localities within the city sometimes have community centers or recreation centers where most or many of their common interests are housed. Commonly, however, there are interests of school, church, trade, factory, amusement, etc., located apart from one another in such manner that there is a different set of population centering in each with a consequent overlapping and cutting in of boundaries. A large industrial plant is likely to draw inhabitants

TABLE III
DENSITY OF POPULATION IN EIGHT OF THE LARGEST CITIES OF THE UNITED STATES, 1920

CITY	POPULATION	AREA	DENSITY
			(BY SLIDE RULE)
New York.....	5,612,651	326.9	17,200
Chicago.....	2,701,212	199.37	13,549
Philadelphia.....	1,813,158	129	14,000
Detroit.....	993,739	75.61	13,000
Cleveland.....	796,836	56.6	14,000
St. Louis.....	772,897	61.37	12,600
Boston.....	748,060	47.8	15,600
Baltimore.....	733,818	31	23,630

about it who, if not too numerous, may act as a community and support their centers of interest.

4. Organization. City-wide organizations may and often do exist for certain purposes, such as political party, government, trade associations, ecclesiastical supervision, professional associations, clubs of a limited clientele. This does not mean, however, that they embrace the majority of the inhabitants or even any considerable portion of them within their membership. The infra-city communities have their own organizations, which while local in their import, may at the same time be similar to and articulate with others elsewhere.

TABLE IV
COMPARISON OF VARIOUS TYPES OF COMMUNITIES

CHARACTERISTICS	I. OPEN COUNTRY	II. RURBAN	III. CITY
1. Common Interests	Diffused General Sociability Neighboring Few Specialized School Religion Clubs	More numerous Some not common to both populations Some common to both Split on economic, sometimes on school	Many common to whole Water, sewage, etc. Neighborhoods may have own
2. Boundaries	Indefinite Not coincident with Township or School-boundaries Not often geographical Merging into each other	Indefinite Interests draw on different areas Shows, fairs, etc., draw from far	Definite for city Suburbs Satellite cities Neighborhoods grade into each other
3. Center or Centers of Interest	Help locate boundaries Centers = one or more Overlapping of attendant populations	Village a cluster of centers Interests numerous, and so centers for them Populations, farm and nuclear, may have some separate centers	Many in business center, common to all Neighborhood may have centers Industrial regions
4. Organization	Mere neighboring without organization Definite school, church or other organizations in community Organizations generally few	More because of: Greater population More interests Some community-wide Most not	Some city-wide organizations Many local organizations
5. Leadership	Necessary to maintenance of common interest and organization Country handicapped for trained leadership	Likely more Population greater More interests Professional classes present	A developed L. more frequent. All tend thence Inequitably distributed throughout city
6. Distribution of Population	Wide separateness and low density Density variable, according to area	Greater as whole Densest at center Outer density conditioned by size of farms	Varies from city to city and with size Much higher than in smaller communities
7. Technological and Cultural	Knowledge and life centered about and colored by agricultural production and technics	Technics multiplied Culture more complex Outlooks tend to vary No name for the culture of the whole	Multifarious. Culture dominated by industrial and commercial Some neighborhoods have distinctive
8. Social Stratification	Slight Racial Owner and tenant Employer and laborer Old and new or aristocrats and "poor whites"	Greater than in open country Occupational Town vs. rural "Position" more in evidence	Many classes due to business and occupational differences. Also racial. Also labor ranks in neighborhoods. "Upper class" marked in places

5. Developed leadership is much more plentiful in proportion to the population in large cities than in villages and country. The city attracts talent and it finds more and more ample fields for achievement. This is especially true in industrial, commercial, financial, professional, artistic, and literary lines. But many localities within large cities are without any leadership whatever. This is particularly true of "neglected" neighborhoods. No doubt many of these localities might be working communities had they the requisite leadership.

6. Distribution of population varies greatly from city to city and according to districts within a given city. The small cities ordinarily have lower densities than do larger cities. However, the great cities vary widely in this respect. This may be shown by the figures presented for a few of our own cities presented in Table III.

In the wealthy residential districts of large cities the density is relatively low, but in the poor residential areas the density is often insufferably high, manifesting itself in yardless homes and tall tenements.

7. The cultural element of cities is approximately as varied as is the technological. The larger cities present an overwhelming number and variety of technics or callings, a recent authoritative statement ascribing some thirty or forty thousand different callings to Greater New York. The differentiation in the industrial field is probably by far the greatest but there is a surprisingly large number of callings in the service field. All this tends to make a great diversity of individualities and perhaps it is only when crowd phenomena are present that the great city is really unified.

Local communities within a city are likely to have the character of the city to which they belong in this respect, only on a less variegated scale. Certain residential regions have no distinctive technic, other than leisure class devices and domestic callings, except of the imported kind. That is, the business interests of the male head of the house is likely to give a technological color to the spirit, attitude, sympathies, biases, outlook, conversation, of the other members of the household. Certain other regions are locations of special industries and the dependent populations have the technics involved in such industries, so that their lives and outlook are tinted according to the occupations they follow.

8. Class differentiation appears mildly in small cities in this country but is much more rife and apparent in large ones. Immigrant groups, racial groups, labor and capital groups, even groups and social stratification within labor ranks are symptoms. There is no commingling in a social way of rich and poor upon a fairly equal footing as there is in small communities. In the various infra-city communities, the situation is likely to be a replica of the city at large. Even an industrial community in which the employers and superintendents do not reside will probably manifest several levels of social position within the ranks of the employees.

What has been said relative to these three types of community may be condensed into tabular form for comparative purposes (Table IV). It is recognized that this is a rough draft of the reality. Anyone who desires to add to or subtract from these particulars is welcome to do so.

A SOCIAL INTERPRETATION: SOUTH CAROLINA

JOSIAH MORSE

I

SOUTH CAROLINA," says William A. Schaper, "is in many respects unique. Her peculiar economic system and her peculiar social structure have given rise to many difficult political and constitutional problems. She stands related to the South in many respects as Massachusetts does to the North, as one of the fertile sources from which have spread many of the characteristic ideas and institutions of a section. Much that is typical of the South is here found in its purest and most accentuated form; whence it comes that a study of her local history often suggests the clew to the proper understanding of the South as a section. What is more, her local experience throws an interesting light on the stand that she took on national issues."¹ To understand this uniqueness and peculiarity Mr. Schaper goes back to the material and human sources and forces from which they sprang—the climate, soil, rivers, harbors, etc., which made the raising of indigo, rice, and cotton possible and profitable; the topography, which determined the size and type of farms and therefore the economic, social and political status of their owners, and their chief interests; and most important of all, the action and reaction of the several human groups upon one another—the co-operations and conflicts of the white settlers from the different European stocks and social levels, the conflicts with the

Indians and the adjusting of the Negroes to slavery—in this intermingling of natural and human elements and forces he finds that the psycho-physical organism of South Carolina, so to speak, was formed. Her later history was for the most part the developing and maturing of the embryo, whose future form and characteristics were determined at conception.

South Carolina, like a certain Roman province made famous by Julius Caesar, is divided geologically and topographically into three parts, significantly designated as low, middle, and up country. It may therefore be said to be a State of three altitudes, three climates, three soils; and since these largely determine the economic and industrial activities of the inhabitants, which in turn shape and color their history, their character and culture, we may add, three peoples. Not separate and distinct peoples, to be sure. To a stranger, indeed, the people would have appeared to be practically homogeneous, so slight were their differences. But these slight differences among men are oftentimes the very ones that cause the most trouble. Moreover, even when differences are more imaginary than real the fact that they are believed in and acted upon by the masses makes the psychological effect practically the same as if they were real. Popular delusions have played a large rôle in human history. The basic interests and occupations of the early settlers, their social and cultural levels, and even their national origins were sufficiently apart to have insured almost constant strife and jealousies, leading at times to deep enmities and threats of permanent political cleavages.

¹ William A. Schaper, Ph.D., "Sectionalism and Representation in South Carolina," *Annual Report of the Amer. Historical Assoc.*, 1900, Vol. 1, pp. 237-463. The first section of this chapter is practically a condensation of this very scholarly study.

It would be idle to attempt to measure the lasting injury done the State, the extent to which its development along all lines was retarded by these early wranglings and cross purposes; certain it is that the amount is very considerable. Recent psychology has shown that individuals are strongly conditioned; that is, their habits, temperaments, characters, personalities, and all the rest are largely fashioned and fixed during the years of infancy and early childhood by the experiences then had. The same would seem to be true of States, in the measure that it is true that the State is the individual writ large.

We shall have in the following pages considerable evidence that the conditions still obtaining in the three sections of the State though not entirely direct heritages of those that obtained in Colonial and post-Revolution periods are so to a large extent. Social heredity is no less a fact than individual heredity.

Three vessels, containing several hundred persons and provisions for eight months sailed from England and reached what is now Charleston, about 1670. There and then South Carolina was conceived. That she was born and reared during her childhood in the low country is a fact of far-reaching consequences. A glance at her parents, the first colonists, will yield another fact of equal, if not greater significance.

The passenger list of one of the vessels included 16 masters, owning from one to ten servants, and thirteen individuals without any servants. To induce Englishmen to attempt to colonize this part of the new world, the proprietors, to whom the region between Virginia and Florida had been given by Charles II, offered any free man 150 acres and 150 acres additional for each man servant and 100 acres for each woman servant. Thus, in the very first vessels we have in

rough draft the prototypes of the large plantation and slave owner, the small farmer, who did most of his work himself, and the tenant class, or the poor white. This classification is not to be taken too literally; it is suggestive only. While the Old World class distinctions were transplanted into the New, the lines were not so rigidly drawn and character and ability found more frequent opportunity and surer recognition and reward.

In 1671 a number of Negro slaves were brought from Barbados and a little later Indians were captured and enslaved. In 1674 some Dutch colonists from New York arrived and five years later two small vessels of Huguenot refugees. Still later, the members of the Congregational Church at Dorchester, Mass., removed with their pastor to the neighborhood of Charleston, and in 1715 about 500 Irish came over and settled temporarily near Port Royal. Between 1730 and 1750 there was a considerable influx of immigrants including Swiss, Scotch-Irish, Germans, Welsh and Scotch. Such were the human elements that entered into the making of the State, and these may conveniently be classified into the three groups: planters and merchants, poor whites, and Negroes; or patricians, plebeians and slaves, with the reminder that the first two groups were not crystallized into anything like the castes of India, or even of pre-war Europe.

The government under which these groups lived is also worthy of brief consideration. The eight courtiers to whom Charles II granted all the land between Virginia and Florida engaged John Locke, noted philosopher and publicist, to draw up the form of government that was to obtain in their possessions. They wished to establish a landed aristocracy in South Carolina, to "avoid a numerous democracy," as one of them

phrased it. In other words, South Carolina was to be a replica of rural England, with seigniories, baronies, and manors, presided over by lords proprietors, land-graves and caíques who had full jurisdiction over their leetmen or serfs and vassals.

It is not necessary to go into the intricacies of the complex form of government Locke drew up. The chief point of interest is that the powers and privileges of the nobility were made supreme. "The planters from the very first took a lively interest in politics and conceived an almost Spartan-like regard for the State because they realized that their very comfortable and even luxurious status depended upon their keeping control of the government and all its enforcing agencies." Viewing this aristocratic society in retrospect, at the close of the War Between the States, William Henry Trescott wrote: "The existence of large hereditary estates, the transmission from generation to generation of social and political consideration, the institution of slavery, creating of the whole white race a privileged class, through whom the pride and power of its highest representatives were naturally diffused, all contributed to give a peculiarly personal and family feeling to the ordinary relation of the citizen to the Commonwealth. Federal honors were undervalued and even Federal power was underrated, except as they were reflected back from the interests and prejudices of the State."² So, while they lived and ruled after the manner of English lords and ladies on large estates with their spacious and elaborately furnished mansions, preserving therein the customs and traditions, the class distinctions, deference to personal connection, and disrespect for the trades of the mother

country, always keeping in close touch with her through commerce, travel, and attendance upon her colleges and universities, the poor whites and the Negroes were engaged under overseers in the rather hard task of maintaining the material foundations of the aristocratic culture.

Charleston was not only the political capitol of the colony, but its social, cultural and commercial capitol as well. However, only the planters and the merchants could afford to live there. The poorer immigrants had to settle in the hinterland, generally upon the banks of a stream. Thus, the middle country was settled by Welsh, German, and French Protestants, all of whom passed through Charleston. Another important fact is that the numerous swamps in the low country prevented compact settlements and townships, such as obtained in New England, despite everything the proprietors did to encourage their establishment and to discourage scattering among the colonists. In this forced separateness and isolation of the colonists is to be found the source of the individualism which has been characteristic of the State down to the present day, and is the key to much of its history.

After 1755 the up country began to be settled by Scotch-Irish pioneers from Virginia, North Carolina, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, who were attracted by the fertility of the land and its "remoteness from the Indian disturbances of the time." Each family secured a small farm, ranging from fifty to three hundred acres in size, built a crude one-room log cabin, and began clearing and breaking-up the land. Belonging to the proletariat, they were accustomed to do their own work and to endure hardships. Their daily lives were lived on a plane but little above that of the Indians who preceded them, except

² William Henry Trescott, *Memorial of J. Johnston Pettigrew*, p. 8.

that they were more industrious than the latter. Removed from the civilizations both to the north and south of them and unable to reach these without great difficulty they soon lost the little civilization they brought with them, so that it became necessary to send teachers and missionaries to prevent their lapsing into barbarism. These same conditions, however, made for sturdy independence, respect for labor, and a natural democratic spirit—traits exactly opposite to those that characterized the cavaliers of the low country. From the very beginning and continuously thereafter the up country had to provide its own food, clothing, shelter, furniture, tools and implements; in other words, to engage in and develop the essential trades and industries as well as a diversified agriculture and stock raising for home use. "With the exception of salt and sugar," wrote Governor Drayton, "little is imported, and carpenters, smiths, masons, tanners, shoe, boot, and harness makers, saddlers, hatters, millwrights, and all other tradesmen are conveniently situated throughout the country," adding that "a number of smelting works, iron mills, oil mills, and flour mills had appeared in which water power was being used." Indeed the up country was disparagingly referred to as the "manufacturing section" by the low country planters.

It is idle again to speculate what the subsequent history of the State might have been, had this germ of modern industry not been quickly stifled by cotton, which became so profitable a crop after Whitney's invention of the cotton gin, as to acquire the title of king—a title it holds to this day. Certain it is that to this staple the low country owed its continued prosperity and political supremacy, enabling it to perpetuate the slave economy and aristocratic society and

thus to continue to shape the character and destiny of the State.

Meanwhile, the low country continued to shop in Europe, to depend upon the English merchants and manufacturers to whom it sent its slave-made indigo, rice, and later, cotton, in exchange for the rich variety of English imports and the products of her factories. In 1745-'46 an average of four or five vessels cleared from Charleston each week, many of them bringing back "clothing for themselves (the planters) and Negroes; every sort of household furniture; all works in steel, iron, brass, copper, tin; some in gold, as watches and rings; many in silver, as plate of various figure and fashion; all works of leather and wood; vessels of earth, delph, china, or glass; every sort of sailcloth, cordage and rigging for ships or boats, every kind of tool and utensil; in short, everything that is useful or ornamental in life, every particular that a people that have no manufactures can want and will have as they are able to purchase it; every valuable and every trifling thing from bales of cloth, linen, silk, even to papers of thread, pins, and needles."³ Surely no English gentleman, however fastidious his tastes, could have found fault with Charleston at any time between the middle of the 18th century and 1860.

It is not surprising, therefore, that there was but little understanding and sympathy between the two sections, or that the low country men regarded the up country men as common intruders and treated them with suspicion and contempt. As one of the planters said: "They are strangers to our interests, our customs and our concerns." Economically, socially and culturally the gap between the two was far too wide to be bridged. Union of the two sections upon anything

³ Governor's Report, 1751. Quoted by Schaper.

like equal terms was hardly possible. The low country had everything to lose; the up country had little to give. There was therefore but one solution: the low country must keep the reins of government in its hands, regardless of the fact that the up country became increasingly the more populous section. Thus, for example, in the provisional congress of 1774 the up country was allowed only 40 out of 184 members, despite the fact that it had almost three-fourths of the white population of the State, and in the convention of 1789, called to revise the constitution along more democratic lines, after long and bitter discussion which resulted in establishing practically two seats of government, one at Columbia and one at Charleston, the low country succeeded in getting 20 of the 37 senators, though it had but little more than one-fifth of the white population at the time. Furthermore, the property qualifications of the governor, the members of legislature and even of voters gave the planters an even greater advantage than is indicated by the above figures. But to have granted the up country representation upon the basis of population would, as Schaper points out, "have put the power of taxation in the hands of the up country men while the low country men had the property. The tide-water leaders were altogether too shrewd for that." In all the early meetings and congresses the conflicting interests of the two sections were clearly revealed. "It was a struggle for supremacy. The small farmers and free laborers were pitted against the planters and slavery. It was like the later sectional struggle, excepting that in the local contest slavery triumphed."⁴

Necessity is the mother of invention in government as well as in other fields.

⁴ Schaper, *ibid.*, p. 360.

In order to protect their property interests the slave holding planters ingeniously worked out a form of government in which the power was completely centralized in the legislature, which they always safely controlled. Though "they had almost unlimited power to oppress the up country people, yet it must be recorded to their credit that they never used their power for that purpose, nor was a single charge of corruption brought against the government in the heated controversy which led to the reform in the representation in 1808. Their administration seems to have been singularly fair and broad minded. It speaks well for the wisdom and manhood of the South Carolina planters."⁵ To the same handful of planters the country owes the theories of the concurrent majority and State rights, both designed to protect the interests of the minority against the tyranny of the majority. However, when cotton became the important money crop it began to invade the middle and up country taking the Negro slaves along with it, thus greatly widening the area of the black belt. The result was that shop industries and manufacturing were nipped in the bud, as already mentioned, necessitating the emigration to the Southwest and West of large numbers of white laborers and small farmers. Diversified farming was given up. The size of farms greatly increased. The building of roads, canals, railways speeded up greatly and the establishment of the State College at Columbia was hastened, all of which exerted a tremendous influence in bringing the two sections more closely together, unifying the sectional spirits into a State spirit and substituting a harmony of interests and viewpoints for the previous prejudices, differences and conflicts.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 380.

Cotton wrought a great transformation in the up country, economically, industrially and therefore politically and culturally. Through this staple the necessity of keeping the up country in political subjection was removed and the process of assimilating it to the low country put in operation. When their interests were like those of the low country men, they thought and acted as the low country men did, showing that the sectional animosities were in fact rooted in class and economic differences. Some three years, however, had to pass before it became feasible to distribute the political power more on a basis of population than property, during which time there was much able discussion on both sides, contributing valuable political and social philosophy not only to the history of the State, but to that of the nation as well.

II

In the fires of the War Between the States and in the even greater and more humiliating disaster of the Carpetbagger—Scalawag—Negro misrule that followed, all previous issues and sectional differences were wiped out. The economic structure and its very foundations were in ruins, never to be rebuilt on the old lines. The aristocratic planter and political leader were on a political and financial level with the bourgeois farmer and merchant and in the alembic of common suffering and humiliation the various divisive elements and forces disappeared. In 1876 Wade Hampton became the governor of a white state unified as it had never been before. Politically, at least, the State became solid. But this was not to last long. Soon the up country leaders realized that the reins of government were again in the hands of the low country men. Charleston County enjoyed double Senatorial representation from 1876 to 1890,

which fact fairly infuriated the up country leaders and not only revived the old sectional prejudice, but fanned it to a white-heat. How to wrest the power from the low country and at the same time eliminate the Negro from politics became the all-important problem. Finally, in 1886 a solution was found in the proposal to adopt for the State as a whole the county primary system that had been in use since 1876. It was not, however, until 1896, after ten years of violent agitation, that the first important political contest was decided by a direct State Primary. The establishment of the State Primary wrought the greatest political revolution in the history of the State, transforming it from a highly centralized autocracy to a democracy that borders, at times, on kakistocracy. It was also responsible for the one-party system, which brought on political degeneration through the too frequent substitution of personalities for genuine political issues and rustic entertainment for intelligent debate. The Constitution of 1895, "by requiring either an educational or a property qualification for voters," practically completed the elimination of the Negro vote, and since then the political contests have been between the two divisions of whites, but not the same divisions as formerly, though for political reasons the same old shibboleths are oftentimes employed by the leaders of the proletariat.

However, there is another side of the picture that has not been presented, and that is, that the real source of discord was not so much the fact that the low country men wielded undue political power; because, as has already been pointed out, their rule was honest, able and high-toned. As one keen student of South Carolina political and social history, himself an up country man, observes:

" . . . never was State government in this Republic manned by officers of purer and loftier character, and of a higher average level of intelligence and ability than was that of South Carolina between 1876 and 1890. In the slave period, democracy did not flourish, but the governing class was a noble order of men of standards of personal integrity that seldom have been approached."⁶ A social psychoanalyst would probably find the irritating cause of the bitter sectionalism in the inferiority-complex existing in the minds of many of the up country men. This complex is easily engendered in the minds of the "outs" and "have-nots" by the "ins" and "haves," but it must also be admitted that in social and cultural accomplishments and in political skill and acumen the up country men generally were not the peers of the low country men and that fact rankled subconsciously in their breasts, making it impossible for them to see any virtue in their opponents. To be sure, there were up country men here and there—men like Calhoun, Petigru, McDuffie, Langdon Cheves—who easily ranked and sometimes outranked the ablest among the low country men, but they were the exceptions rather than the rule. To quote again from the above mentioned observer: "The true explanation of the violent and unreasoning prejudice against Charleston was that Charleston sent, year after year, between '76 and '90, a group of seven or eight men to the Legislature who in intellect and parliamentary training could have held their own with any equal number on the American continent. Inevitably such men . . . exerted commanding power as compared with even the equally able men to be found here and there in other county delegations, who rarely re-

mained in the Legislature for more than two or three terms." Another socio-psychological cause was the isolation and deadening monotony of the life of the up country man. The low country man had his Charleston to gratify his social needs and desires; the up country man could only find compensation for his involuntary inhibitions and repressions in the excitement that political dissensions afforded. Which is also the explanation of many present-day chauvinistic and reformistic organizations and movements throughout the country. Men are men, the world over and in all ages. Given the same or similar conditions in China three thousand years ago and in Europe or America today and the results will be almost sure to be the same. Had Mr. Ludwig Lewisohn realized this simple psychological fact, he probably would not have written "*South Carolina: A Lingering Fragrance*"⁷ and made it so pungent. To the extent that we understand causal relationships in human affairs, we are dispassionate, and disposed, at least, to be just.

In 1880, South Carolina began to catch her breath again, economically speaking, and since then, and especially since 1900 she has made rapid progress along all lines, as the appended tables of statistics will show. But the phrase, "rapid progress," has a relative as well as an absolute significance, and no loyal South Carolinian can view with complacency the relative standing of his State, despite the ravages of the war and the many post-war discouragements and handicaps. Particularly is this true in the matter of education, agriculture, farm tenancy, per capita wealth, labor conditions and crime. The causes of this relative retardation in progress are many and so interwoven and

⁶ W. W. Ball, *An Episode in South Carolina Politics*, p. 34. Privately printed.

⁷ *The Nation*, July 12, 1922.

reciprocally related that it is difficult to separate them and assign to each an absolute rank in any scale of values. Mention has already been made of the natural divisions of the State, the national and cultural differences among the early and later settlers and the difference in their economic and political interests and activities, the largeness of the rural population, the conditions of their living and consequent complexes and repressions, the dominance of the planter class with their English habits and ideals, their emphasis upon the classics and contempt for business, manufacture and manual labor, and their influence upon the intellectual and cultural life of the state.

Another cause of retardation is the inadequate appropriations for public institutions and agencies. The unwillingness to pay taxes is, of course, not peculiar to South Carolina; it is age-old and worldwide. The rich are no more exempt from it than the poor. The desire to get something for nothing seems to be a universal human trait. The consequence is a vicious circle: no appropriations, no schools, good roads, public health service, efficient government, etc.; no schools, good roads, public health service and the rest, no ability to make appropriations. One of the greatest needs of the State at the present time is a thoroughgoing reform of the crude, obsolete and entirely unsatisfactory tax system, under which some counties' assessments are one-fifth of that in other counties, and much real and personal property escapes taxation altogether. The matter has been widely discussed for a number of years and all thinking persons are agreed that an early and intelligent solution which will place the burden more equitably upon property, business, industry, corporations and incomes is essential, if the State is to make progress commensurate with its capacity.

But perhaps first place among the retarding causes should go to another economic factor. King, or rather Tyrant Cotton, has alone been responsible for the major portion of the ills of the State. Of course, but for the climate, the soil and the invention of the gin there would be no cotton in South Carolina, any more than there is in Wyoming or Montana. But these conditions having made cotton possible, it became in its turn responsible for the extension of Negro slavery, landed aristocracy, partly for the war, for farm tenancy, for the one-crop system, for poverty, child labor, illiteracy and the many other ills that grow out of them. One need not be a Marxian to recognize the measure of truth that is contained in his philosophy of history. Because of cotton South Carolina has had until a few years ago a larger Negro than white population. The Negro has been the South's anodyne, relieving it of the pains of hard labor, but also of the many rewards thereof. The laws of nature are inexorable, demanding always their pound of flesh, or a quid pro quo. Not only was the Negro responsible for the absence of the conditions that make for industriousness, organization of effort, initiative and inventiveness, through which the standard of civilization is raised, but he became, in effect, a Chinese wall, shutting out desirable immigration for a century and a half. Population has moved steadily across the continent above the Mason-Dixon's line, carrying progress and prosperity with it. Charleston, as we have seen, was a city of wealth, culture and refinement when buffaloes roamed at large and prairie dogs burrowed in the plains east and west of the Rockies.

To politics and education the presence of the Negro has also been no less harmful. He is responsible for the sclerosis of politics in the South, which has eliminated

it as a vital factor in national affairs; and locally, he has indirectly prevented dispassionate consideration of issues, enabling many a demagogue to ride into high office on his back. The recognized necessity for maintaining two systems of schools has unavoidably kept both at a low level of efficiency. Again, his presence is largely responsible for the measure of disregard for law and established authority that obtains, and of course for race conflicts.

In charging the Negro with so much responsibility, the implication is not intended that he has been wilfully or maliciously responsible. He has, indeed, been the unconscious and oftentimes unwilling agent through which these evils have been wrought. But the results are practically the same. It is not good for two races so different and unequal to have to dwell together in such large numbers. It matters not whether the inequality be native or acquired, real or artificial; the inequality brings about a social imbalance that is inimical to normal, wholesome growth. Ideally, the presence of a weak, unprivileged group should call forth the finer impulses in the hearts of the stronger—the impulse to protect, guide, serve, uplift—but practically (and this is true the world over), it has worked out the other way. In the first place, the strong being proud and jealous of their superiority live in constant dread of the deteriorating and debasing effects of an infiltration of inferior blood into their veins, and in the second place, the weak constitute a standing and well-nigh irresistible temptation to the strong to dominate and exploit them, the consequence being that the exploiter suffers even greater injury than the exploited. For nothing good, or beautiful, or true can come out of hearts filled with the spirit of oppression and its twin sisters, fear and hate.

But nature and "the course of human events" are now conspiring to bring about a quick transformation in the State. The boll weevil is pushing, and the demand for labor in the North, owing to the new immigration law, is pulling the Negro steadily out of South Carolina and the other cotton states. This, in time, will prove to have been a blessing in disguise both for the Negro and the South. Already the proliferous pest has done more to "solve" or rather advance the race question than have all the Interracial Commissions and Associations, North and South, in a decade of propaganda and education. Lynchings, for example, have dropped to 16 for 1924 and 1925 each, from 33 in 1923 and 57 in 1922. Even in Georgia, the worst offender, there were only two in 1925, and in South Carolina, none in the past two years. This is but a symptom of the improved status of the Negro since the advent of the emigration and it is safe to predict that his condition will continue to improve *pari passu* with its continuance. Due credit, however, must be given the Negro for the marked decrease in his lawlessness during the past few years. His improvement in this respect is already being used by preachers, editors and reformers to point a moral to the white man.

The boll weevil is also driving the small and incompetent white farm owner into tenant and thence into other employments and industries, but more especially into the cotton mill, whose doors have always stood ajar to receive him and his family.

III

The prognosticator of human events is on a level with the weather prophet, but so long as men insist on being told what will be, there will always be found those ready to tell them. Turning fortune

teller, for the occasion, the writer sees in the palm of the State the following story.

1. Many of the farms will fall into the hands of a few competent and efficient agriculturists, who will raise the industry to the level of modern business. The small farmer is going the way of the small merchant, the cigar store keeper, shoemaker, tailor and other small-scale producers and entrepreneurs. Farming, because of its numerous "unknown quantities" is more difficult to factor successfully than is the average business. Nothing like the requisite amount of scientific knowledge, or of business ability in marketing and buying, of planning and organizing, of capital for improved implements and machinery, etc., is possessed by the small farmer. When the standard of living was lower and the desires of men, women and children fewer, he could somehow muddle through from year to year, but now the attempt even to bring up the rear of the procession lands him into bankruptcy.

2. Some of these bankrupts will become tenants or employees of the financier-farmer, working under his direction more regularly and systematically and therefore getting larger returns for themselves, not only in money, but in improved living conditions, than when they were owners, or rather progressive mortgagors. But the majority of the defeated farmers will probably go into the cotton mills. A number of the deserted farms will be taken up by farmers from the middle-west and west, who are now, thanks to the rapid development of good roads in this and other states and the Florida boom passing through South Carolina and discovering her low farm values, considering the soil fertility, climate, proximity to markets, etc.

3. South Carolina has already entered unmistakably upon a new era of industrial

development. In 1880 there were only 14 textile industries in the State with a total capital of two and three-quarter millions; in 1923 the number had risen to 208 with a total capital of \$165,820,520.00. The value of the annual products increased from two and a half millions in 1880 to \$227,813,113.00 in 1923, or 682 per cent. During the same period the total wages increased from \$380,844,000 to \$41,307,216.00. In 1923 the value of manufactured products exceeded the value of farm products by \$123,915,930.00. And these figures are now increasing in almost logarithmic progression. The cotton textile industry in New England (except that part engaged in the making of very fine fabrics) is doomed, just as her farms were doomed a generation or so ago, and for the same reason, namely, the discovery that larger profits could be had elsewhere from the same investment of capital and labor. With the large development of hydro-electric power in the Carolinas and a labor supply homogeneous, individualistic, non-union and non-striking, the manufacturers of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, harrassed by labor leaders representing class-conscious, resistant, and sometimes aggressive workers demanding improved working conditions and increasing shares in the profits of industry are finding a haven of peace and profit in the Piedmont of the Carolinas. How long it will remain such none can tell. Meanwhile, the prospect pleases, and China and India lie in the offing for future use. Which is not to say that South Carolina will not be a beneficiary of the transfer, nor that the manufacturers will bring here the same conditions which caused discontent and strikes in their New England mills. Men *do* profit, if very slowly, by experience, and the course of history is spiral. The conditions obtaining in the cotton mills and villages of

South Carolina would have been regarded Utopian in Old and New England a half or even a quarter century ago. Mr. Tannenbaum's *The South Buries Its Anglo-Saxons* is like the famous report of Mark Twain's death, "greatly exaggerated." The South is not burying its cotton mill operatives; it is giving to those who have broken down and fallen by the wayside, partly because of their own limitations and partly because of changing economic conditions over which they had no control, opportunities to live better and enjoy educational and social advantages they have not had before. The paternalism obtaining in the mill villages is merely a stage in industrial evolution, and under the circumstances, practically a necessity, however wrong it may be in theory. The cotton mills represent the first stage in the South's industrialization. Through them the next stage—diversified industries—will inevitably be ushered in, and these by furnishing exits from the present blind alley will give greater economic self-determination. Meanwhile, the conditions will compare most favorably with those obtaining in coal mines, steel mills and not a few other industries.

4. An outstanding characteristic of the present age is its love of comfort and luxury. A decade of unprecedented prosperity has stimulated the desires of men like new wine. The rich and the near-rich are unwilling to submit to climatic and other physical discomforts, if their wealth can purchase escape therefrom. Vast hordes are migrating like birds, with the seasons, and all who can afford it and many who cannot are maintaining summer and winter homes. These facts plus the nation-wide construction of good roads and the multiplication of automobiles are primarily responsible for Florida's phenomenal boom. South Carolina's share in this boom is bound to increase

steadily, and that means not only added revenues but added human elements bringing new social and cultural influences which will make for broadened viewpoints and attitudes.

5. With a 141 per cent increase in the high school enrollment for the decennium 1913-23, and with a 321 per cent increase in the value of all school property, a 327 per cent increase in the total expenditures, and with our college and university dormitories and class rooms fairly bursting with students there is ample warrant for the assurance that the coming generations will be able to transmit to their successors a South Carolina greater in every respect than was transmitted to them, thus fulfilling the ancient Greek ideal of citizenship. Just as cotton has been the direct and contributing cause of most of the ills of the State so will education prove to be the direct and contributing cause of most, if not all of her progress. The formula for making progress is no longer a secret. It has been worked out and proved in the schools and colleges of all civilized peoples. But it is still insufficiently realized that the present day problem of education is to what it was a generation ago as calculus is to algebra and that consequently the cost must be correspondingly greater. New forces have suddenly been released from Pandora's box and are moving with ever increasing speed and power. Time has expanded and Space contracted bewilderingly to those who regulated their lives by them in the eighties and nineties of the last century, and these changes have necessitated numerous readjustments in personal, familial, social, economic, political, educational, moral, religious, national and international and racial affairs. Of prime importance are the latter. The age of isolation and provincialism and their attendant prejudices and intoler-

ances is passing. For good or ill the destinies of the nations of the earth are being interwoven and the rising generation must be fitted to cope with these new world forces and conditions. The world is moulting and suffering the pains of the process. The best and broadest education is therefore now nothing less than imperative. That the people of South Carolina have a fair notion of the situation and of the present significance and value of education is evidenced by school statistics, though, of course, there is abundant room for improvement. A splendid opportunity exists for an educational revival such as North Carolina had under the inspiration and leadership of such men as Walter H. Page, Governor Aycock, President Graham, Superintendent Brooks and their associates.

Thus, while South Carolina has yet far to go to catch up with her sister states in other sections, he must be purblind indeed, who cannot see that the night has passed and her star is again in ascension. In the greatly improved appearance and condition of her cities and towns, with their paved and well-lighted streets, modern stores, homes, churches, schools, and other public buildings; well dressed men, women, and children; the good proportion of expensive cars, and in the large expenditures for luxuries, amusements and sports are evidences sufficient that from mountains to sea South Carolina is pulsing with fresh life and vigor and optimism. Moreover, though the distance between

two given points may be considerable, it is an axiom of Euclidian geometry (with apologies to Einstein) that a straight line is the shortest distance between them, and that straight line is very often a diagonal. In other words, South Carolina, by cutting across lots, so to speak, will be able to make fifty years' progress in ten or twenty. The discoveries and improvements in education, industry, government, and other lines of human endeavor, which have been made at great expense of time, energy, and money, elsewhere, South Carolina will be able to appropriate at once and without cost, thus receiving some return for her large contributions to the building of the nation during the first two centuries of its history. And doubtless the renaissance will enable her to make even greater contributions to the future life and development of the country. Despite the temporary setback, shared with the rest of the country and due to the backwash of the World War, with its flotsam and jetsam of prejudices and issues which can in no wise contribute to her advancement, South Carolina is surely coming into her own again. New opportunities are arriving by automobile over good roads and copper wires are bringing kilowatt fairies to perform modern miracles of industry. Never were prospects more promising. Undoubtedly, were Horace Greeley alive today he would—but Babbitt protests his thunder is being stolen.

GEOGRAPHICAL ENVIRONMENT AND CULTURE

W. D. WALLIS

THE view that nature has made or has unmade man is suggested by man's dependence upon nature. He is a creature of the earth's surface. Only by keeping touch with her can he maintain life. Out of her womb is he born, from her he receives nourishment, to her embrace he ultimately returns. Yet her children have not received impartial treatment. Some have nestled in favored spots where bounteous nature fills all needs; others have been put down in hard places where life is a constant struggle with environment, a niggardly provider from whom blessings are wrung with sweat of brow and horny hands, or sought under dangerous and precarious conditions.

Herodotus remarked that Egypt is the gift of the Nile. Though he meant geographical Egypt cultural Egypt was almost coterminous with it and the one could scarcely be separated even in thought from the other. Egyptian civilization depended upon the fertility of the land, a fertility attributable to inundations providing a constantly renewed alluvium, and to a warm and abundant sunlight. Wheat is native to the Mediterranean area. It is plausible that nature herself provided the wild seed, covered it with a rich soil, watered it, and by the warmth of a southern sun nurtured it into a grain whose rare virtues were manifest. Thus were offered to the natives who dwelt along the turgid Nile advantages not vouchsafed those inhabiting colder and less happy regions beyond the Mediterranean. Nature had been kinder to those who dwelt along the river bank than to those whose abode was in desert or on bleak mountain height. Bodin

stressed the fact that civilization is limited by degrees of latitude and of longitude, and also by altitude, noting the superiority of plains and river valleys as seats of civilization. Inspired by Bodin, Montesquieu pointed to climatic zones as delimitations of culture. The natives in the tropics did not advance beyond savagery because heat was enervating and because every need was supplied by nature. Those living in frigid zones were equally unfortunate, nature in that region being as niggardly as in the tropics she was beneficent, the polar inhabitants being forced by the inclemency of the region to spend most of their time and energy in securing food and clothing. The temperate zones furnish the happy mean; here man's needs are not fully supplied by nature; he must exert himself in order to satisfy them; the requisite labor stimulates without exhausting his efforts and capacities. For proof of his assertion Montesquieu pointed to the geographical distribution of civilization. The centers of civilization lie within the temperate zone and diminish in quality as we proceed toward the tropics or toward the polar regions. In the present century the views of Bodin and of Montesquieu have been championed by Miss Semple and by Ellsworth Huntington, who describe the extent to which not only effort and ability but civilization as well are matters of climate.

The dependence of civilization upon geographical environment must be accepted. But these writers leave out of the reckoning factors which are an intimate part of the situation. However favorable the surroundings, the culture must have attained a certain advance or no advantage

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is taken of environment. The Nile doubtless had long been irrigating and enriching the soil of Egypt, scattering the land with wild grains out of which man was destined to make cultivated cereals.

Nature may give the blessing but it is not really a blessing until man accepts it and learns to utilize it. Whether he does one or both depends upon himself as well as upon nature. Lucky accidents are not lessons to those not already alert. While the effects of climatic conditions upon mentality and upon physical stamina are not to be underrated, the fact remains that climatic conditions act differently upon different individuals as well as upon different civilizations. The balmy climate of Southern California has acted in one way upon the early Mexican-Spanish population, in another way upon the later European-American. Within certain bounds, heat does not kill intellectual or physical effort but merely handicaps it.

Again, by the theory of Montesquieu and of Huntington it is difficult to explain the shifting in the centers of civilization from millennium to millennium, or even from century to century. Races which in the last thousand years have achieved greatness in art, literature, and science, lie within the cooler temperate zones. But what shall we say of the preceding thousands of years?

Moreover, the shifting of civilization within a given geographical area make it difficult to accept the hypothesis that the environment accounts for the civilization, since the same conditions yield widely different products. If the Nile made ancient Egyptian civilization, must we not say that it made the civilization of medieval times, and that of modern times? Yet these products are of the most varied character.

In explaining everything the environment explains nothing. We know that

in some parts of the world the climate has remained constant throughout thousands of years, whereas the civilization in that area has undergone manifold change. Whether we speak of the valleys of the Nile, the Euphrates and Tigris, the Rhine, or the Po, contrasts in successive civilizations stand out against a background of a same geographical environment maintaining itself through kaleidoscopic changes in social life, religion, art, and science.

Huntington does not save the day by pointing to a change in climatic conditions in Palestine and Italy, changes which he assumes account for the shifting of civilization in those areas. The climatic changes have been trivial compared with the momentous changes in civilization which those lands have witnessed in the past three thousand years. The attempts to show the direct effects of environment upon national character must be rated equally unsuccessful. Gomperz fails to convince us that the intellect of Greece was the outcome of a rugged interior and an indented coastline. His theory will not account for the fact that Greek civilization developed in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., arts, sciences, and philosophies which culminated in a period of brilliancy never achieved previously nor subsequently. Geographical conditions in Greece have not changed in any noteworthy respect, if they have changed at all; meanwhile, in this land of brilliant sunshine, civilization has waxed and waned, has died and found new birth.

Nor can we accept Taine's view that the spirit of English literature has been dictated by the environment. If the fogs and bogs of the North made morose and phlegmatic Saxons and Danes, how could they make light-hearted and vivacious Celts? When Sir William Ramsay as-

sures us that the rugged mountains of Anatolia could not fail to arouse the religious sense, and Draper and Miss Semple declare that the monotony of the desert inspires belief in monotheism, we can only conclude that they have not read the evidence aright, because they have not read all of it. Must they not first explain why Mohammed arose when he did, and why the same desert region produced monotheism in one century and polytheism in another? Must they not also demand that the deserts of China, of Australia, and of North and South America deliver up their secrets of a monotheistic faith? In a word, those who support the thesis that the geographical environment is responsible for culture show nothing more than that culture must subsist in an environment, and that, given the culture and the environment, a correlation between the two can be made.

The defenders of the view that geographical environment constitutes the determinants of culture have been loth to define the meaning which they attach to "geographical environment." Their use of the term shows that they employ it now in the sense of what exists for the culture in question, now in the sense of what exists for the civilized man but does not exist for the culture in question. The two meanings are not synonymous. Shall we say that the Alleghany Indian of two centuries ago lived in an environment of coal, or that he lived in an environment of a useless black substance which we call coal and which we recognize, but he did not, as a substance capable of giving light, heat, and power? Was aluminum a part of our environment fifty years ago? There seems but one answer: Coal, a substance capable of giving light, heat, and power, was no part of the environment of the Alleghany

Indian, though, as we now know, it was all about him; aluminum, a useful metal, was no part of our environment fifty years ago, though the substance, unknown, was about us on every side awaiting discovery and utilization.

Civilization has created these portions of the environment.

By environment we mean those things and influences with which we come into contact directly or indirectly. Though Captain Kidd's treasure lies buried at my doorstep, so long as I am uninfluenced by its presence it can not be said to constitute a part of my environment. At some future date knowledge may make it such.

Some years ago, accompanied by a friend, I boarded a train at Bischofsheim, in southern Germany. We rode through a beautiful country romantic with historic associations. Our enjoyment of these was now and then interrupted by the conversation of two ladies from Iowa, mother and daughter. The burden of their talk was: What should they do with the chicken-house and the back porch when they returned to their Iowa home? They had no eye for scenery nor for historical associations. Our physical bodies passed through the same physical surroundings, but our environments were as far apart as mediaeval Germany and the henroost in Iowa.

America was no part of the environment of the ancient Roman nor of the mediaeval Londoner, but today America is part of the environment of the inhabitants of these cities. Civilization created this change in environment. The new environment of America gave us a new civilization, but the old civilization of Europe gave us the new environment, the Americas. The nature of the actual environment of a people can not be settled by the cartographer. How can he describe the environment of the New

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Yorker? The environment of some New Yorkers is the region of Long Island Sound and Hudson River. But many a New Yorker lives in an environment as large, almost, as the national boundaries. Not only do his wanderings make this actual: he may travel as far in a museum or with a book as others with an unlimited ticket. Nor do we forget the subtle and indirectness of the geographical influences. These so-called influences, however, are merely the medium in which human forces and motives find resisting fulcrum.

By adapting itself to environmental influences human life shows its reasonableness, its balance, its ingenuity, its freedom. It makes the most of them in order that it may rise above their compulsions. Without geographical environment civilization is as impossible as war without gravitation, but environment does not explain nor cause civilization more than gravitation causes or explains war. The shifting in the center of civilization from one region to another, and the various changes in civilization which a given geographical area witnesses can be explained only by reference to the human life there resident. This human life possesses cultural traits received from another geographical horizon which it will transmit to some further region. The environment which accounts for these shifting is a culture environment overleaping geographical barriers or even annihilating them and setting up new ones.

At one time to some peoples rivers are a means of separation; at other times and to other peoples they are a means of communication. What the geographical environment signifies, which is almost equivalent to saying what the geographical environment is, depends upon the peoples concerned. They create it to a

much larger extent than it creates them. Countries once the white man's grave have been made habitable. Mortality decreases as man remakes the environment. In regions where formerly environment had complete mastery of man he has subjected it to his will and now is its master. As Buffon expressed it: "The more, therefore, he observes and cultivates nature the more means he will find of making her subservient to him and of drawing new riches from her bosom without diminishing the treasures of her in exhaustible fecundity." To attribute social advance to geographical environment is to place ourselves by the side of the old lady who marvelled at the providential way in which big rivers were made to run past big towns. The teleology is inverted.

Man is not an automaton, but a creature with a will. As Kirchoff says:

The suggestions thrown out by the nature of his birthplace sometimes find him a docile, sometimes an indifferent pupil. What is now the world-harbor of New York once served the Indians as nothing but a hunting place for edible mollusks. On the same rock-bound coast that educated the Norwegians into intrepid sailors, the Lapps are at present eking out a paltry existence as fishermen. . . . If, however, man ventures to pit his strength against the elemental power of the sea; if he goes further and elects as his vocation the sailor's struggle with storm and seething breaker, then the poet's word in its full significance may be applied to him: "Man's stature grows with every higher aim." The mariner's trade steels muscle and nerve, it sharpens the senses, it cultivates presence of mind. With each triumph of human cleverness over the rude forces of nature it heightens the courageousness of well-considered, fearless action.

Geographical environment is the cradle in which man's genius awaits the promptings of motives which give him mastery over his fate.

In many ways he is and always has been dependent upon the geographical environment; he can no more escape it

than he can dodge the forces of gravitation; the one as surely as the other fashions him and accounts for some of his characteristics. It may be that our arboreal ancestors,—if they were arboreal!—climbed down from the trees because the trees were degenerating in that area, forced to earth while our unfortunate, because too fortunate, simian cousins remained within their leafy bower.

Man, possibly, is an example of the fact that unfavorable environment in the end may prove to be a favorable one, eliciting potencies which else lie dormant or atrophy in disuse. Conformity to environment can not guarantee survival, much less can it ensure progress. When one speaks in terms of conformity to environment one thinks of mollusks and the smaller parasites, admirably adapted to the environment. The failure or refusal of higher forms to conform closely with environment is a distinguishing trait. Or shall we say they conform to different environments, though these environments lie within the same latitudes and longitudes, as drawn by the cartographer? The oyster and man live in much the same environment if only they knew it, but knowing it or not knowing it is the element which makes the environment what it is. The dyne of selection is as important as the array of things upon which selection operates.

Rational selection of environment is taken for granted when it is alleged that environment is a determining factor in economic, social, or political life, that it makes or unmakes a people, determining whether a given tribe or nation is to rise to prominence in world affairs or is to sink into inoffensive and powerless rivalry for a place in the sun.

Undoubtedly certain environments are favorable and other environments are unfavorable; yet, the advantages they

offer are conditional upon the response of the culture. Man can do well where conditions are unfavorable; he can do poorly where conditions are favorable. He is more than a creature of the environment, or he is no human being. The story of his conquest of nature and of his utilization of her forces is evidence that he is a creator as well as a creature of environment. What he has become is to be explained in part by nature, but much more by nurture; it is more a matter of race than one of place.

The murders committed by Labrador Eskimo have an environmental background, for they are committed at the time of the year when the seasons most dispose to outrage.

In the dark days of midwinter, when polar winds blow and the men can not go out to hunt, they sit inside the huts, gorge with meat, and take little exercise. A congested body harbors an irritable nervous system, the amiable, good-natured Eskimo becomes sullen and moody. Mental depression reflects his gloomy surroundings. Old slights and grudges which he recalls in this abnormal condition assume exaggerated proportions. Under such conditions most of the murders occur. We see no objection to considering this a case of the influence of geographical environment. But it must be recalled that not all Eskimo subjected to these conditions commit murders, and that all peoples subjected to these conditions do not react to them as do the Eskimo.

With advance in civilization man is able more and more to escape the exactions of the environment, to impose his will more masterfully upon nature, to conquer his conqueror. The correlation between man's economic life and his geographical environment is not evidence of the influence of physical environment. The cor-

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relation shows the extent to which man has adapted himself to the environment, the extent to which he has compelled it to minister to his needs, to serve his purposes, to respond to his will. We do not find canoes in the Saharah desert. If the converse of the picture is that the environment does not drive man to build canoes, the obverse is that enterprises other than canoe-building ensure salvation.

Moreover, where geographical conditions are the same or similar we do not find a same and often not a similar reaction.

The reaction to the geographical environment depends not so much upon the nature of the environment as upon the nature of the culture transplanted to the environment.

Adaptation to physical environment depends upon the will, the training, the social inheritance of those who inhabit a given locality. If we wish to predict what a people will do when they move into a new environment, it is more important to know the people than to know the place—or better, one must know both.

Nietzsche leaves out of the reckoning an important factor when he declares: "If thou knewest a people's need, its land, its sky, and its neighbor, then wouldest thou divine the law of its surroundings, and why it climbeth up that ladder to its hopes." The people themselves are one of the factors in their progress, and usually the most important of the factors. As Horace says, "They change their sky, not their spirit, those who travel across the seas."

Within limitations which shift with the civilization, almost any kind of culture can flourish in almost any kind of physical environment. But culture can not flourish independently of surrounding

cultures. Savagery can not persist indefinitely when its neighbors are civilized peoples. Civilization can not maintain itself in a sea of savagery, but ultimately will give way to savagery or bring savagery into line with civilization.

An analysis of the geographical environment does not afford as valuable insight into the culture of a people as does a knowledge of the culture of its neighbors. The distribution of cultures confirms this induction. There is a geography of culture as clearly marked, as distinct in demarcating outlines, as different in content, as is the physical geography.

The lines which mark out culture areas are not coterminous with those which delimit river, valley, mountain systems, plateaus, plains. Culture boundaries in some cases to an extent respect geographical lines, as, for example, in aboriginal North America; yet in the main, culture lines cross and interpenetrate geographical boundaries as though the latter did not exist. Where geographical features impose limitations the limitations are respected; but not until we know the culture do we know the limitations. Geographical features do not break up civilized America as they do, or did, aboriginal America.

To a forest-dwelling people the region of wood imposes limiting conditions upon the construction of houses; yet the Eskimo disregard such limiting conditions, finding at hand other materials out of which to make habitations.

Were the Eskimo isolated groups, not intermingling and not exchanging articles in trade, their isolation would be pointed to as imposed by environment. But they rise above these specious limitations and do trade, travel, visit, and intermingle. Were art wholly absent from their culture the lack of suitable materials for the

operation of the artistic impulse would be pointed to as responsible for the absence of art. Here again they rise above our expectations, refuse to acknowledge obviously limiting conditions, are artists. The limiting conditions can not be inferred apart from the culture which inhabits a given environment. To this extent the poet is right: "In thine own breast stands the star of thy fate."

Physical environment is not a matter apart from social development, nor one to which the culture can be indifferent. The culture shows its wisdom by acquaintance with environment and by making the most of it. If 'being influenced' by the environment means making the most of it, then it is the part of wisdom to be influenced. Adaptation to environment illustrates the freedom and rationality of the group. With advance in civilization man attains relative freedom from environment. He may acquire freedom by changing place of abode, escaping to regions where the preferred environment is to be found, though this at best usually is a matter of individual rather than one of group choice; or he may protect himself through his own devices from the inclemency and extremes of the environment.

Man learns to make nature do his bidding. Where there is dearth of rainfall he supplies rivers of irrigating canals. The water which will not come from the heavens shall be induced to come up through the earth. The wilderness and the desert are made to blossom like the rose; in the dreariest wastes man induces

nature to be prodigal of her blessings. As man develops power, as his devices become more ingenious, environment is reinterpreted and remade.

In early stages of social development nature may determine man's activities; later he gives the emphasis to the environment. He no longer trembles at nature's threat for he can throttle the threat in its utterance. Sun, wind, and wave are made to generate power which man uses to his enhancement. As a factor in progress physical environment is important in the case of two peoples of the same level of culture, possessing the same handicrafts, the same mechanical ability. As between widely diverse cultures differences in environment do not much matter. The superior advantages of the physical environment of North America mean much to the culture of Canadians and to the peoples of the States; they mean much less to the Spanish in Mexico; they mean still less to unenlightened Indian tribes. The environment of Australia is a factor in the social evolution of Europeans who now govern that continent; it is a much weaker factor in the life of the aborigines. In one case the culture is able to utilize the environment, in the other it is not. The importance of physical environment to social evolution is in direct proportion to the advance of the culture. It is the lever as well as the fulcrum, but its leverage is determined by the civilization. As Voltaire says, though climate has influence, government has a hundred times more, and religion in conjunction with government has still more.

THE NEWSPAPER AND PUBLIC OPINION

GEORGE A. LUNDBERG

I

UP TO the present time most of the conclusions of sociology have been derived from more or less cursory observations by men interested in social problems. Unfortunately, observations of this kind and the generalizations drawn from them too frequently reflect the desires or fears of the observer rather than the facts as they are. That is, the conclusions of sociology are frequently statements of what someone thinks ought to be, or ought not to be, rather than a statement of what is. The difficulty with much current sociological literature is that many hypotheses and theories by virtue of long standing and repetition by eminent men have become accepted as statements of fact. The fact that Aristotle made some statement and that the subsequent respectable writers on the subject have accepted or repeated this statement is frequently regarded as conclusive evidence of the validity of the statement. In the absence of more scientific conclusions, these statements of opinion are, to be sure, of great significance and a new science will necessarily have to rely on a great many such formulations, at least as working hypotheses. But too frequently these hypotheses are regarded as established facts. The result is that many proposed investigations are discouraged as attempts to prove the obvious. It is only comparatively recently that the need for extensive and painstaking scientific inquiry into the validity of the generally accepted conclusions of sociology has been emphasized. So far, the science consists chiefly of conclusions and very little scientific data.

One of the conclusions very generally agreed on by writers in the field is the conclusion that the most powerful, if not the all important factor in influencing public opinion, and consequently the votes of a community, is the newspaper. A survey of opinions on this subject (they are stated not as opinions but as established facts) yields a great number of emphatic and unqualified statements to this effect.¹ For example:

.... They [the newspapers] create great men out of next to nothing and destroy the reputation of men truly fit for leadership. They decide questions of war and peace. *They carry elections.* They overawe and coerce politicians, rulers, and courts. *When they are virtually unanimous, nothing can withstand them.*² (Italics mine.)

.... the great body of readers take the paper seriously and its influence goes a long way in making public opinion for them.³

.... Since the newspapers exercise so vast a power they should be held to corresponding responsibility. Since they are the public *par excellence*, they should be subject to a public regulation adequate to secure the public welfare. Every daily paper that enjoys more than a specified circulation should by constitutional amendment be required to place a certain amount of space in every issue at the disposal of each of the four parties—whenever there are four—that cast the highest vote at the last State election.⁴

The American press has more influence than it has

¹ Some recent writers, such as Robert E. Park, have qualified this assumption by emphasizing the tendency of the press to reflect, rather than to make, public opinion. See also "The Waning Power of the Press," by F. E. Leupp, *Atlantic Monthly*, February, 1910.

² Yarros, V. S., "The Press and Public Opinion," *A. J. S.*, November, 1899, p. 32.

³ Groves, E. R., *Social Problems and Education*, p. 380.

Elsewhere (p. 377). Groves admits that the press "more often echoes public opinion."

⁴ Hayes, E. C., "The Formation of Public Opinion," *Jr. of Applied Soc.*, September-October, 1915.

ever had in any other time in any other country. No other extra-judicial force, except religion, is half so powerful.⁶

In nearly every case of such pronouncement, the author makes no reference to the data, if any, on which he bases his statements. There is good reason for this. So far as the present writer has been able to discover there are no scientific data on the subject.⁶ The most that can be found is a considerable number of opinions, many of them eloquently expressed. But brilliant style and great learning will not permanently serve as a substitute for data.

It is the purpose of the present paper to approach quantitatively, one aspect of this problem, namely, the question of the *direct* influence of newspapers on public opinion on certain specific public issues. The aim is to discover to what extent a person's attitude on public questions, on which the press is assumed to be so influential, correlates with the attitude on these questions of the newspaper to which he is most frequently exposed. For this purpose 940 of the residents of the city of Seattle were selected at random.⁷ 590

⁶ Irvin, W., "The American Newspaper," *Collier's*, January 21, 1911, p. 18.

⁷ "Evidently the newspaper is an institution that is not yet fully understood. What it is, or seems to be, for any one of us at any time is determined by our differing points of view. As a matter of fact we do not know much about the newspaper. It has never been studied." Robert E. Park "The Natural History of the Newspaper," *A. J. S.*, November, 1923.

⁷ The sample was compared with the general adult white population of the city (according to the census of 1920) with respect to nativity, citizenship, and occupations, and was found not to vary from the general population in these characteristics, by more than 14 per cent in any one respect. The proportion of the sample reading each paper (see Table I) also corresponded closely to the proportion of the total circulation of each paper. This was true except in the case of *The Star*, which has 30 per cent of the total daily circulation of the papers in the city, but which

men and 350 women were interviewed and schedules filled out with their answers. For the purpose of this inquiry, four public questions which had been prominently before the electorate within the last eight months preceding the investigation were selected and each person asked his position on these questions. In a different connection the person was asked what newspaper he read most frequently. The results of this part of the inquiry are shown in Table I, which indicates the degree of relationship, or lack of relationship, between the readers' attitude on a public question and the attitude of the newspaper which each group read most frequently.

Table I shows no significant relationship between the attitude of the newspaper and the attitude of the reader on the questions investigated. On the question of the city manager plan, which had been rejected at the polls about four months before this investigation was begun, *The Times* took a vigorous position against the measure. Fifty-two per cent of its readers agreed with their newspaper in this position. *The Post-Intelligencer* took a favorable stand on the question, and 50 per cent of its readers agreed in this position. So far there is a slight indication of correlation between the attitude of the paper read most frequently and the attitude of the reader. When we consider *The Star*, however, this correlation becomes negative, 55 per cent of the followers of this paper being opposed to the city

had only 14 per cent of the total circulation in the sample, and in the case of the *Union Record* which has 12 per cent of the total daily circulation in the city but only 3 per cent in the sample. While there is reason to believe that this sample is for the present purpose representative of the great bulk of the population of the city, there is no need to insist on this point as the results are sufficiently significant as applied only to the class here investigated.

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manager plan, although the paper endorsed the plan. In the case of *The Union Record* the most positive relationship is shown, 72 per cent of its readers agreeing with the newspaper's attitude. Only

the common factor which accounts for both the attitude of the paper and of its readers. Among those who follow out of town papers we find, as might be expected, a greater degree of indifference

TABLE I

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE ATTITUDE OF THE NEWSPAPER AND THE ATTITUDE OF THE READER ON PUBLIC QUESTIONS (Seattle)

PAPER READ MOST FREQUENTLY AND PER CENT OF WHOLE SAMPLE READING EACH PAPER	PUBLIC QUESTIONS															
	City manager plan			Rainier Valley Line			Skagit Project			Political preference at last presidential election						
	Yes	No	No answer	Yes	No	No answer	Yes	No	No answer	Davis	Coolidge	La Follette	Others			
	per cent	per cent	per cent	per cent	per cent	per cent	per cent	per cent	per cent	per cent	per cent	per cent	per cent			
	Against	Against	Against	Against	Against	Against	Against	Against	Against	Coolidge	Coolidge	Coolidge	Coolidge			
<i>Times</i> (39 per cent).....	42	52	6	18	76	6	75	15	10	14	66	7	1	12		
<i>Post-Intelligencer</i> (33 per cent).....	50	40	9	22	65	11	72	15	12	16	53	8	1	20		
<i>Star</i> (14 per cent).....	35	55	9	24	69	7	79	12	8	20	49	8	2	19		
<i>Union Record</i> (3 per cent).....	20	72	9	21	72	7	86	7	7	10	27	34	17	13		
Out-of-town paper (14 per cent).....	41	43	16	23	61	15	61	25	14	15	51	4	0	30		

Notes on Table I

1. The city manager plan had been rejected at the polls four months before this investigation was made, 55 per cent of those voting being opposed to the plan as proposed. The Rainier Valley Line and the Skagit Project were definitely proposed municipal ownership and development projects before the city council at the time of the investigation.
2. A statement of the attitude of each newspaper on each of the public questions involved was secured from the editor of each paper except *The Times*. The attitude of the latter was determined from the paper itself as it attacked vigorously all three of the proposed city measures.
3. The vote for president in Seattle at the last election was as follows: Coolidge, 55 per cent; La Follette, 38 per cent; Davis, 7 per cent.
4. The table was worked out separately for men and women but no significant differences in the two groups were evident.

3 per cent of the whole sample were readers of the *Union Record*, however, and as it is the organ of organized labor, there is reason to believe that this third factor, namely the union organization, is

to the question, but an approximately even division on the question among those who expressed themselves.

On the question of the purchase of the Rainier Valley Street Railway line by the

city, the results are more difficult to analyze due to the lack of a positive stand on the questions by two of the papers. But the results reflect the same situation as found on the previous question, namely, that the correlation between the attitude of the newspaper and that of the readers is too small to be regarded as significant. We do find, it is true, a slightly greater percentage opposed among the readers of the two papers which were opposed to the measure. As compared with the group reading out of town papers, the difference between this group and the readers of the *Times* is 15 per cent, with the complicating factor that a much larger proportion of the former failed to answer the question. A truer measure of the difference perhaps is the difference between the *Times* (positively opposed) and the readers of the *Star* (no stand), a difference of 7 per cent. Obviously, the small difference makes causal connection extremely doubtful or at least extremely small.

In the case of the next question, namely the question of the Skagit Project (a proposal to enlarge and develop the city's hydroelectric power plant) we have the most striking example of the lack of correlation between the attitude of newspapers and the attitude of its readers. The *Times* vigorously opposed this project and yet 75 per cent of its readers favored the project, which was the attitude of practically the same percentage of readers of the papers friendly or favorable to the project. The *Union Record* again shows the most positive relationship, undoubtedly due to its being the organ of a special group.

Finally, the relation between the attitude of the newspapers and the attitude of the voters in the last presidential election appears to be entirely negligible.

The Times supported Coolidge, and 66 per cent of its readers indicated the same attitude. Fifty-three per cent of the readers of the *Post-Intelligencer*, which took no stand on candidates, also indicated a preference for the Republican ticket. At the same time the proportion of readers of the latter paper who indicated their preference for Davis and La Follette were practically the same as in the case of the *Times*. The difference in the percentage of readers supporting Coolidge in the case of these two papers can be accounted for almost entirely on the basis of the larger percentage of the readers of the *Post-Intelligencer* who failed to indicate their preference. Again, the proportion of La Follette supporters among the readers of the *Star*, which supported La Follette, was no greater than the proportion supporting this candidate among the readers of the other two papers, one of which was indifferent, and the other vigorously opposed to this candidate. In the case of the *Union Record* we find the greatest scatteration between different candidates, but in view of the fact that the city as a whole is regarded as heavily Republican, the 34 per cent support of La Follette among the readers of the organ of organized labor, indicates again that in a homogeneous group of this kind, there tends to be a closer correspondence between the attitude of the newspaper read by such a group and the attitude of the group. Its special position as an organ of special group, however, introduces an element which invalidates to some extent the comparison of it with ordinary newspapers.

The results, as far as this study is concerned, indicates unmistakably (1) that a modern commercial newspaper has little direct influence on the opinions of its readers on public questions. It probably

seeks to discover and reflect that opinion rather than to make it. (2) The stand of a newspaper on public questions is a negligible factor in the reader's estimation in selecting his newspaper. (3) Only when a paper is the organ of some homogeneous group does a slight correspondence between the attitudes of the newspaper and its readers appear. (4) Newspaper opinions are perhaps themselves the products of the various forces which make opinion in a community. Of these, the newspaper is undoubtedly one, but its influence as such has perhaps been grossly overestimated or at least the nature of this influence has been misunderstood.

II

Further light on the attitude of people towards newspapers, in so far as the questionnaire method is reliable in revealing such attitudes, was secured from a ranking by each person of the different departments of the newspaper on the basis of its relative interest to the reader. This part of the inquiry is obviously open to the objection that few persons are capable or willing to give the actual facts in such cases, but tend to respond with the conventional attitude. The difficulty of adequately classifying the contents of a newspaper is also a complicating factor. The results, however, may have some degree of validity and hence are briefly submitted here.

For the group as a whole, the interest value of different departments was ranked as follows: (1) General News, (2) Editorials, (3) Cartoons, (4) Advertising, (5) Sports, (6) Communications from readers, (7) Radio, (8) Puzzles. The order was the same for both men and women and corresponded closely, except that the women's rating of advertising was relatively high and their rating of

sports relatively low as compared with the rating by the men.⁸

A ranking of the types of news on the basis of interest value gave the following order for the group as a whole: (1) Politics, (2) Disasters, (3) Graft, (4) Financial, (5) Crime, (6) Theater, (7) Marriage, (8) Society. The order was the same for the male as for the female group, but the women ranked graft, financial news, and crime relatively low, and theater, marriage, and society news correspondingly high.

Finally, in response to the question, "Do you think the papers reliably report the news of the world," 44 per cent answered "Yes," 44 per cent, "No," 9 per cent "Fairly," and 3 per cent failed to answer. The estimated time spent reading newspapers daily was as follows: less than 15 minutes, 11 per cent; 16 to 30 minutes, 37 per cent; 31 to 45 minutes, 13 per cent; 46 to 60 minutes, 24 per cent; 61 minutes and up, 8 per cent; no answer, 4 per cent.

III

The interest in the question of newspaper influence on public opinion has centered largely around the relationship between election success of candidates for office and their newspaper support in the campaign. This relationship and influence has been variously estimated and ranges from the view which holds that the two are directly, positively, and causally related, to the view which

⁸ The method employed was the same as was employed by Hotchkiss and Franken of New York University in a similar study in 1921. "Newspaper Reading Habits of Business Executives and Professional Men in New York." Copyrighted 1922 by *New York Tribune*. The findings in this study, and others cited in this report, agree in general with those of the present study, except that the Seattle group shows a much higher appreciation of cartoons.

holds that there is little or no relationship. The former view is undoubtedly more generally held. But much evidence may be adduced in support of either position. There is, on the one hand the unquestioned fact that candidates for mayor and other offices in many cities have been elected in the face of the united opposition of all or nearly all the newspapers.⁹ There is on the other hand apparently clear cases where newspapers have been very influential in causing public reforms. These latter cases, however, have frequently been cases where the great rôle of the newspaper has been that of exposing conditions not generally known and causing agitation over them. But the question as to the nature and degree of the relationship existing in either case may still be said to be open.

As a more general and indirect approach to this problem, an attempt was made to ascertain the general relationship between the political alignment of various counties and states as evidenced by their votes, and the avowed political affiliation of the newspapers of these areas, stated in terms of the total circulation of all the papers of each party affiliation. For the state of Washington a study was made of the circulation of newspapers located in the different counties and the political alignment of these counties in the last gubernatorial election. This was obviously an imperfect method due to the fact that many newspapers circulate outside of the county of their location. The problem is further complicated by the fact that a great many papers prefer to list themselves as Independent. This is especially true of papers in small town and rural areas, where a paper must appeal to all factions for financial support. Nevertheless, the three counties which

returned the heaviest majorities for the Democratic candidate for governor in the last election had combined Democratic circulation of 851 as against 300 Republican, and 3334 Independent. Likewise, the three counties returning the heaviest Republican majorities were found to have no Democratic newspapers.

A similar comparison of the usual political classification of different states shows a more positive tendency for states of usually heavy Republican or Democratic majorities to have the bulk of its newspaper circulation listed as of the same respective party affiliation. In this connection the most significant finding was the fact that the so-called doubtful states, e.g., Indiana, have an unusually large percentage of their newspaper circulation listed in the independent column.

The fact that there seems to be, as was to be expected, a positive relationship on the whole between the avowed political affiliation of newspapers in a given area with the usual political complexion of that area, does not, of course, prove anything as to the influence of the newspapers in *causing* the political attitude of the people among whom it circulates. It is quite as reasonable to assume that the paper locates and takes its stand in accordance with the prevalent public view, thus being a reflector rather than a creator of public opinion. In view of the fact that the modern newspaper is primarily a business enterprise, the latter is a much more reasonable conclusion. This correspondence, therefore, on which many assumptions as to the direct power of the press in politics is based, furnishes very little legitimate ground for such assumptions. In the first place, it is at most an indirect and general approach to the question of the relationship between newspaper support and the success of a given candidate in a given election. In

⁹ See Bernays, *Crystallizing Public Opinion*, p. 71 and following for a summary of such cases.

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the second place, the conclusions drawn from part one of this study, as well as numerous cases where candidates win in spite of unanimous newspaper opposition, throw very serious doubt on the assumed causal relationship. Certainly newspaper support cannot be regarded as in any way essential to political success, and its power in a negative way, namely, in refusing all publicity to a candidate, is perhaps more important than its positive stand for or against a candidate or an issue.

The conclusions here set forth, especially in part one of this paper, seem justified on the basis of the present study as well as from facts of general observation.¹⁰ Whether these results will hold

true of other cities and especially of small towns and rural areas is a question which only further inquiry can reveal. There is reason to believe, in fact, that the influence of the press on the people of large cities on questions such as those here investigated is far less than in small towns and rural areas, due to the number and frequency of other contacts in the city through reading several newspapers and through clubs, unions, and personal and group influences. This paper does not, of course, pretend to answer in any complete or conclusive way the question of the newspaper's influence. Obviously this study has made no attempt to evaluate the more subtle and far-reaching influence of the newspaper through suggestion and repetition and possible suppression of news. The more general validity of the conclusions remain to be tested by further study.

¹⁰ For such facts see Bernays, *Crystallizing Public Opinion*, p. 71ff. Also McKenzie, "Community Forces: A Study of the Non-Partisan Municipal Elections in Seattle," *Jr. of Soc. Forces*, Jan., 1924, pp. 272-3.

ANTHROPOLOGY, A NATURAL SCIENCE?

ROBERT REDFIELD

SCIENCE, broadly speaking, is the systematic investigation of observed phenomena. It is recognized that this investigation may be directed towards one of two distinct and opposable ends. It may be the aim of such investigation to discover and set out specific sequences, temporal or spatial, of objects or events. History and geography are scientific disciplines of this sort. They are sometimes called descriptive sciences. In fact all sciences are descriptive, but the events or objects of the historical-geographical sciences are described as they are encountered in time or space, and each datum is unique and not subject to verification.

The term natural science, on the other hand, is often reserved for scientific investigation which seeks to classify data and to reduce a wide range of observed phenomena to a brief statement or formula. This formula is termed a natural law. It is, of course, not a law at all: it compels nothing. It is merely a short-hand description of phenomena observed to recur.¹ It is the processual counterpart of the generic concept. It is tested pragmatically, not by any standard of

¹ Karl Pearson: *The Grammar of Science*, 77; A. D. Ritchie: *The Scientific Method*, 55; Hobson, *The Domain of Natural Science*, 26; L. L. Bernard, "Scientific Method and Social Progress," *Amer. Jour. Soc.*, July, 1925.

absolute truth.² Physics and chemistry are sciences of this sort.

Among recent general sociological books, this distinction is explicitly set forth in Park and Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, pp. 12-24, and is recognized in C. M. Case, *Outlines of Introductory Sociology*, xvi-xvii.

But while the facts of history and of natural science are of distinct characters, history and natural science do not remain distinct, but in certain regions of inquiry the one tends to become the other. Geography, in its established phase, is a purely descriptive (i.e., depictive) science, but nevertheless it is forever tending to reduce its data to types and is thus forever passing over into natural science.³ Even the historians do not in every case confine themselves to events. In becoming a "comparative historian," Professor F. J. Teggart has sought to "do for human history what biologists are engaged in doing for the history of the forms of life."⁴ So he calls his book *The Processes of History*. History, to him, is to become a natural science, i.e., sociology.

From the point of view of this distinction it is interesting to consider the methods of anthropology. Unlike sociology, anthropology has no roots in philosophy. It arose out of a scientific interest in primitive and prehistoric man. Anthropological science thus grew up around a body of materials and not around a defined method. For this reason its relation to history and to natural science did not at once become clear. Its interest in this connection lies in the fact that anthropological method has been both that of history and that of a natural science. Certain of its workers and cer-

tain of its schools have inclined to one of the two methods, while others have inclined to the other. In a paper defining the field and principles of anthropology, Boas simultaneously embraced both methods.

In this sense, anthropology is the science that endeavors to reconstruct the early history of mankind, and that tries, wherever possible, to express in the form of laws ever-recurring modes of historical happenings.⁵

The natural science method was once the anthropological method. In the early days, when anthropologists wrote under the dominance of the evolutionary viewpoint, before Boas had appeared to reduce their hypothetical schemes to unsound conjectures, anthropologists employed the comparative method, and were thereby natural historians or natural scientists. Tylor, for example, declared that to many educated minds (but not to Tylor).

there seems something presumptuous and repulsive in the view that the history of mankind is part and parcel of the history of nature, that our thoughts, wills and actions accord with laws as definite as those which govern the motion of waves, the combination of acids and bases, and the growth of plants and animals.⁶

Although Tylor did not entirely overlook the fact that the culture of any group has been largely determined by the experiences of that group, his interest lay in reducing human behavior to types.

In studying both the recurrence of special habits or ideas in several districts and their prevalence within each district, there come before us ever-reiterated proofs of regular causation, producing the phenomena of human life, and of laws of maintenance and diffusion according to which these phenomena settle into permanent standard conditions of society at definite stages of culture.⁷

² Vaihinger, *The Philosophy of "As If,"* 215.

³ As, for example, Jean Brunhes: *Human Geography*.

⁴ F. J. Teggart: *The Processes of History*, 1918.

⁵ Franz Boas: *Anthropology*, 8.

⁶ Edward B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, 7th ed., 1924, 2.

⁷ Ib., 13.

⁸ Edward B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, 7th ed., 1924, 2.

⁹ Franz Boas: *Anthropology*, 8.

¹⁰ Boas, *Anthropology*, 8.

Tylor, and his contemporaries, sought to reduce cultural data to classes, and to tell the history of the development of such classes. So, for example, as has been pointed out by Park and Burgess, Westermarck's *History of Human Marriage* is, more exactly, a natural history of human marriage. Westermarck calls his method "comparative sociology":

Its ultimate object is, of course, the same as that of every other science, namely, to explain the facts with which it is concerned, to give an answer to the question, why?⁸

This interest in a search for fundamental social laws was halted when the assumptions of the evolutionistic anthropologists were pointed out and their central fallacy made clear. As early as 1896 Franz Boas⁹ showed that this fallacy lay in the false assumption that the same phenomena are always due to the same causes, and in the conclusion therefrom that there is one uniform pattern of cultural evolution applicable to all groups. In a paper in which he made this criticism of the comparative method, as then practiced, Boas announced the program for future anthropological investigation—a program which was to be faithfully followed by American anthropologists for a generation.¹⁰

The immediate results of the historical method are, therefore, histories of the cultures of diverse tribes which have been the subject of study. I fully agree with those anthropologists who claim that this is not the ultimate aim of our science, because the general laws, although implied in such a description, cannot be clearly formulated nor their relative value appreciated without a thorough comparison of the manner in which they assert themselves in different cultures. But I insist that the application

of this method is the indispensable condition of sound progress. The psychological problem is contained in the results of the historical inquiry. When we have cleared up the history of a single culture and understand the effects of environment and the psychological conditions that are reflected in it we have made a step forward, as we can then investigate in how far the same causes or other causes were at work in the development of other cultures. Thus by comparing histories of growth general laws may be found. This method is much safer than the comparative method, as it is usually practiced, because instead of a hypothesis on the mode of development actual history forms the basis of our deductions.

Similar reactions to evolutionistic anthropology took place in England and in Germany, and anthropology became a historical science. During the first quarter of this century anthropologists have been engaged largely in determining the distribution of specific traits of specific peoples, and in offering hypotheses as to the histories of specific groups without written records. They have been dealing with events. In Kroeber's *Anthropology* he states that "anthropology has been occupied with trying to generalize the findings of history"¹¹ but in fact the pages which follow this statement generalize very little upon history; they are history. The historical method employed by recent American anthropologists has been clearly formulated by Kroeber:

It is historical in the sense that it insists on first depicting things as they are and then inferring generalizations secondarily if at all, instead of plunging at once into a search for principles. It may not seem historical in the literal conventional sense because the ethnologist's data are not presented to him chronologically. He is therefore compelled to establish his time sequences. This he does by comparisons, especially by taking the fullest possible cognizance of all space factors—geography, diffusions, distributions. As soon, however, as he has reconstructed his time sequences as well as he may, he follows the methods of the orthodox historian. He describes, giving his product depth through

⁸ Edward Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, 5th ed., Vol. I, p. 2.

⁹ Franz Boas, "The Limitations of the Comparative Method of Anthropology," *Science*, N.S., Vol. IV, No. 103, p. 304.

¹⁰ Boas, op. cit., 907.

¹¹ A. L. Kroeber, *Anthropology*, 5.

consideration of environmental and especially of psychological factors; but he describes only. It is each unique event that holds his interest, not the common likeness that may seem to run through events but which he finds, as he remains objective, to dilute thinner in proportion as he scrutinizes more accurately and finally to melt into intangibilities. . . .

In essence, then, modern ethnology says that so and so happened, and may tell why it happened thus in that particular case. It does tell, and it does not try to tell why things happen in society as such.¹²

At the same time Kroeber kept in mind a more remote end of cultural anthropology in natural science:

As long as we continue offering the world only reconstructions of specific detail, and consistently show a negativistic attitude toward broader conclusions, the world will find very little of profit in ethnology. People do want to know why.¹³

In general, recent American anthropologists have been practical field workers who have had little occasion to stop and reflect upon their methods and distinguish the historical interest from that of natural science. Of those who have appreciated that there is here a fundamental difference in the logical character of facts,

¹² A. L. Kroeber, Review of Lowie's *Primitive Society*, *American Anthropologist*, N.S., Vol. 22, 1920, 377, 380.

The identification of ethnology with history is likewise made by Lowie (*Culture and Ethnology*, 82-83): "A given culture is, in a measure at least, a unique phenomenon. In so far as this is true it must defy generalized treatment, and the explanation of a cultural phenomenon will consist in referring it back to the particular circumstances that preceded it. In other words, the explanation will consist in a recital of its past history. . . ."

So, too, a historian: "It seems, then, that while there is a clear-cut distinction to be made between the subject matter of anthropology and that of history, and while there is a wide difference to be noticed in the literary form assumed by the typical statement of results in the one study and the other, the fundamental methodological portion of the two is identical." F. J. Teggart, "Anthropology and History," *Jour. Phil., Psych. and Sci. Method*, Vol. 19, 1919, 693.

¹³ Kroeber, op. cit., 380.

Kroeber has made the clearest statements. He did not, however, make the sharp distinction immediately. His "Eighteen Professions," published in 1915, is an affirmation by an anthropologist that his method is historical. Kroeber felt the fundamental difference between the method of history and the method of natural science, but in this paper he assumed that cultural phenomena were incapable of treatment by a natural science. He called all natural science "biology." "Anthropology today includes two studies which fundamental differences of aim and method render irreconcilable. One of these branches is biological and psychological; the other, social or historical. . . . In what follows, historical anthropology, history and sociology are referred to as history. Physical anthropology and psychology are included in biology." He concludes: "In fine, the determinations and methods of biological, psychological or natural science do not exist for history, are disregarded by consistent biological practice. Most biologists have implicitly followed their aspect of this doctrine, but their subsequent success has tempted many historians, especially sociologists, anthropologists and theorists, to imitate them instead of pursuing their proper complementary method."¹⁴

But in a later paper,¹⁵ Kroeber made a clear distinction between the historical-geographical and the natural science methods. "Data may be viewed directly as they present themselves; or we can seek to pass through them to the processes involved." In the realm of the "super-organic," "culture history" is "depiction

¹⁴ A. L. Kroeber, "Eighteen Professions," *American Anthropologist*, N. S. Vol. 17, 1915, 283-288.

¹⁵ A. L. Kroeber, "The Possibility of a Social Psychology," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 23, 1917, 633-650.

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of phenomena," while "social psychology" is "formulation of processes." In this paper Kroeber acknowledges the possibility of a natural science of the superorganic, and sociology is no longer included with history: "There is no a priori reason visible, accordingly, why a science of cultural mechanics, or social psychology, or sociology, is impossible" (p. 640). Such a sociology must, he says, consistently view "social phenomena and forces as cultural, and not as aggregations and products of psychic phenomena and forces" (p. 650).

Now the interesting fact is that though modern anthropology is primarily history, it does tend in various regions of inquiry to become this "social psychology" or "sociology" of which Kroeber speaks. It does occasionally "pass through data to the processes involved." Physical anthropology, of course, has long since advanced beyond a mere taxonomic classification of biological types of the human species, and frequently directs its attention to the processes whereby somatological change takes place. Primitive linguistics early sought out types and processes. Archaeology remains closest to history.¹⁶ It is the ethnologist who deals with the phenomena of the superorganic.¹⁷ At first the method of the ethnologist was simply

¹⁶ Yet even here the work of Jane Harrison (although she is not an anthropologist), is a case where archaeological materials are treated essentially by the method of a natural science. The aim there is to describe the myth and religion of an extinct people so far as may be determined from archaeological evidence, as types of behavior occasioned by certain fundamental human motives. Jane Harrison: *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, Cambridge, England, 1908; *Themis, A Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religions*, Cambridge, England, 1912, *Mythology*, Boston, Mass., 1924.

¹⁷ "Culture is, indeed, the sole and exclusive subject matter of ethnology." Robert M. Lowie, *Culture and Ethnology*, 5.

depictive. Ethnology came to be distinguished from ethnography, the latter term meaning descriptive (depictive) ethnology, only when ethnology came to be something besides mere description. Ethnologists do reduce their data to types, and they do arrive at formulations of processes.

An example of how descriptions of process are almost inevitable in considering ethnological problems could be found in almost any modern ethnological writing, but we may take a paper by Edward Sapir entitled "Time Perspective in Aboriginal American Culture: A Study in Method."¹⁸ Dr. Sapir is there unequivocal in his view that modern anthropology is a purely historical science:

Cultural anthropology is more and more rapidly getting to realize itself a strictly historical science. Its data can not be understood, either in themselves or in their relation to one another, except as the end-points of specific sequences of events reaching back into the remote past. Some of us may be more interested in the psychological laws of human development that we believe ourselves capable of extracting from the raw materials of ethnology and archaeology, than in the establishment of definite historical facts and relationships that would tend to make this material intelligible, but it is not at all clear that the formulation of such laws is any more the business of the anthropologist than of the historian in the customarily narrow sense of the word. . . . Granting that the labours of the folk-psychologists are justifiable in themselves, the main point remains that so-called primitive culture consists throughout the phenomena that, so far as the ethnologist is concerned, must be worked out historically, that is, in terms of actual happenings, however inferred, that are conceived to have a specific sequence, a specific localization, and specific relations among themselves.

Sapir presents an exhaustive outline of means whereby the relative priority of cultural elements in defined cultures may be determined. Such, for example, are

¹⁸ Canada Dept. of Mines, Memoir 90, Ottawa, 1916.

"principles of necessary presupposition," "relative firmness of association," "cultural elaboration and specialization," etc. But this leads him to express in general formulae the recurrence of phenomena which may be relied on to establish such a chronology, and the refinement of such formulae leads to the statement of natural "laws." Thus, in inquiring into the limitations upon the information to be obtained from interpretation of the geographic distribution of culture traits, he is led to make this statement:

A culture element is transmitted with maximum ease when it is conceptually readily detachable from its cultural setting, is not hedged about in practice by religious or other restraints, is without difficulty assimilable to the borrowing culture, and travels from one tribe to another living in friendly, or at least intimate, relations with it, particularly when these tribes are bound to each other by ties of intermarriage and linguistic affinity and are situated on an important trade route.

Here the ethnologist has stated a "natural law," the description of processes originating as a sort of by-product of the historical account. The descriptive formulation just quoted is made not as an end, but as a means of finding out what happened in a certain place at a certain time. The *processes* of diffusion are defined as a guide to the historical investigator. But there is a tendency, with certain ethnologists, for these processes to become a scientific end in themselves, and at this point ethnology has become a natural science. The process of diffusion is the process most extensively treated by ethnologists, but a wider and wider field of explanatory science tends to be developed by them. This tendency is clearly marked in Clark Wissler's *Man and Culture*.¹⁹ This is in a very large measure an attempt to formulate culture processes. Particu-

larly in the chapter, "The Rationalization of Culture Processes" does Wissler anticipate an explanatory science of cultural phenomena, which shall have for its end *control*.²⁰

Another ethnologist whose interest was in a large measure that of a natural scientist is W. H. R. Rivers. It is particularly interesting to note this fact, in view of the attempt of the extreme diffusionists to identify his work completely with their own. Elliott Smith and W. J. Perry are simply historians (perhaps some of their American critics would prefer to say, mythologists!); they conceive it their task to tell the story of the migration of culture elements from the supposed Egyptian center. Rivers had a broader interest. In an early paper,²¹ Rivers is ostensibly inquiring into the problem of what folkways are more easily borrowed, as a means to the "analysis of cultures," that is, the determination of historical sequences in certain defined areas. But in reading the paper there is always a feeling that Rivers is interested in these matters of process in themselves. Writing nine years later, in his *Social Organization*, Rivers discusses this aspect of ethnology without reference to an ultimate historical purpose. He begins by saying:

I am one of those who believe that the ultimate aim of all studies of mankind, whether historical or scientific, is to reach explanations in terms of the ideas, beliefs, sentiments and instinctive tendencies by which the conduct of man, both individual and collective, is determined.²²

¹⁹ "So conceiving culture to be the expression of the most distinctive phase of man's original nature, anthropology seeks to comprehend and formulate the modes and conditions of this expression in just the same way as we now deal with other phenomena" (Op. cit., 327).

²⁰ W. H. R. Rivers, "The Ethnological Analysis of Culture," *Nature*, 1911, 358-60.

²¹ Rivers, op. cit., 3.

He then proceeds to study social organization "as a process," and from his data educes general formulae descriptive of recurrent phenomena in the field of social organization. As his *Social Organization* is a description of the processes whereby forms of social grouping come into being, so his *Medicine, Magic and Religion* is essentially a natural history of curative practices, describing the process of their change from irrational to rational behavior. Rivers studies, by comparative ethnology, ways of behavior stimulated by the crisis of disease, i.e., ways of curing the disease; this part of the book is a description of the process whereby merely

expressive behavior gives way to a rational therapeutic treatment.

Anthropology, therefore, although in large measure a historical science, ever and again tends to become a natural science. To what extent its contribution to a nomothetic science of human behavior will remain independent, or will become merged with other disciplines having this method and interest, remains uncertain. It is probable that for some time its important contribution will remain the collection of a wide variety of invaluable data. Upon these data sociologists and social psychologists are in a large degree dependent.

TEACHING AND RESEARCH IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

BUSINESS RESEARCH—SIGNIFICANCE AND TECHNIQUE

T. L. KIBLER

THE whole field of research in the social sciences has, in recent years, undergone a remarkable transformation. The development of the large scale business unit, the increasing concentration of population in the cities, the intensity of competition, and the complexity of social relations under the conditions resulting, have all tended to the creation of acute economic and social problems, the satisfactory solution of which is intimately bound up with human welfare.

These problems are international—and they are intensely local. Federal, state and municipal, governments, trade associations, and private industry, are coming to recognize them as affected with public interest, and even with individual and corporate survival.

Social well-being can not be considered apart from economic well-being. The most serious social problems arise out of economic mal-adjustments. Economic problems are, in their larger aspect, social problems in their most acute form. Whether unwholesome economic conditions are traceable to ignorance, or incompetence, or unfair competition, or faulty machinery of commerce, or governmental laxity, or restrictions, or encroachments, the modern socialized state and the private producer as well, are compelled to take stock looking toward remedial measures.

This whole situation gives rise to the gradual evolution of an entirely new attitude toward what is significantly coming to be regarded as the profession of business. Even now the conditions essential to the successful administration of any large business enterprise involve specialized qualifications of a high order.

Educators at large have for some time viewed "with alarm" the growing tendency of the state and of business itself to give recognition to the professional nature of the function known as business administration. Many liberal arts folk have and do utterly deplore the tendency to commercialize education involving, as they say, a movement away from what they conceive to be essentially cultural. One might think that they longed for the return of the days of the cloister, when scholarship and learning were prized, not for their contribution toward the amelioration of life's hardships and the elevation of the standard of living, but rather for the aesthetic joys and satisfactions growing out of the consciousness that they "are not as other men."

Schools and colleges of business themselves have not always been backward in apprehending the dangers involved in an effort to turn out graduates properly qualified to enter business careers. Camps of contending factions have been fairly divided. Out of it all has grown a fair compromise of the curriculum to those

demanding, on the one hand, a high degree of vocationalization, and, on the other, a high degree of liberalization. It is clear, however, that the problem has not yet been completely solved.

In many quarters, opinion is crystallizing in favor of, (1) broader background in the fields of literature and the exact sciences; (2) resort to the laboratory of the business world as a means of acquainting students with business routine and procedure; (3) emphasis upon fundamental principle in the class room with frequent resort to practical problems for purposes of illustration and the stimulation of thought in the application of theory; and (4) the development of the research viewpoint and technique as an essential condition to the determination of correct theory as well as to the training of men for constructive leadership.

The limitations upon this paper will not permit of the discussion of the first three points although each might readily be correlated to the subject of business research, its purpose, methods and technique, and its place in the organization and scientific administration of any form of business enterprise beyond the most crude and elementary.

The admission of research to an important place in modern business practice at once contributes a new poise and significance to business education. So soon as it becomes possible to use business experience as a guide to business policy, business operations become subject to a considerable measure of scientific control. The stigma hitherto attached by the elect to business education loses much of its sting in the face of the application, to the determination of business policy, of the scientific concept expressed in the term "precision."

A well-founded body of knowledge is arising which discloses relationships of

cause and effect, subject, to be sure, to modification and interpretation growing out of variations in human and environmental factors. If the business unit is large, it must adopt such administrative methods and machinery as will enable it to inject through the whole organization a high degree of coördination and control. Raw materials and stock must often be procured and labor contracts made for months in advance. The market for buying and selling must be appraised. Price changes, crop conditions, transportation rates, risk, credit, labor—all having to do with foreign and domestic competitive status—must be anticipated and interpreted. The production program of the industry in question must be timed to the capacity of the market to absorb the product at prevailing competitive prices. Furthermore, if the business is to continue on a sound basis, such prices must normally contain in themselves all the expenses of production including adequate profits to cover the risks involved in the enterprise. These conditions necessitate the most rigorous control of the whole production and marketing program.

In spite of the many variable factors above intimated, a sort of business technique is rapidly taking form. Business procedure, while it must ever remain flexible and adaptable to different types of enterprise, and to different environmental conditions, is, in many respects, yielding to a certain standardization in method and procedure. This standardization is being effected through empirical studies involving minute scrutiny of business phenomena in all its phases. The research student is testing abstract theories by resort to actual practices, and, where a sufficient amount of quantitative data can be made available, he is approaching his problems, *aposteriori*, and building up his case in a manner

quite comparable to that employed in the physical laboratory.

There is no thought, of course, that the application of scientific method to the determination of business policy and procedure, will leave no place for the exercise of discretion and judgment; nor that initiative and aggressive leadership will ever be assigned a minor rôle in business development; nor even that business routine and procedure can be cast into a mold and delivered complete to the student contemplating a business career.

It is true that laws as interpreted are matters of fact and that business must accommodate itself to prescribed limitations; that a considerable part of business technique itself has become standardized through processes of experiment and evolution under the critical eye of the research specialist. As a result, many hitherto difficult phases have resolved themselves into rote and routine through the application of recognized "fundamental principles" as a guide to business practices.

The subjection of modern experience to scientific analysis and appraisal by research specialists acting either for the state or private interests has given rise to a great body of literature in the fields of accounting, marketing, finance, management, commerce and transportation. Meanwhile, governmental and business agencies are busy assembling additional statistical and documentary data which are being subjected to minute scrutiny in an effort to discover new principles and tendencies that may serve to bring about still greater economies in productive and distributive processes.

Such studies as the above contribute to the clarification of the atmosphere for the freer and more confident exercise of initiative and aggressive leadership. The zone for the exercise of discretion and judgment becomes thereby narrowed,

but highly refined. The business man, with a thorough grounding in principle and approved practice, is in a position to attack the problem that is peculiar to his business and to concentrate all his thoughts upon its solution. Thus scientific precision finds its place in business processes.

The average mind will ultimately accept "best practice" as a guide. The alert mind, striving for competitive advantage, will not accept any conclusions as final and ultimate. Business is essentially dynamic, and progress in method and procedure must ever be coincident with the abandonment of standardized concept and the blazing of new trails. Competitive advantage, in fact often arises out of successful experiment. Business research makes its contribution to progress by its continued search for truth and its evaluation of every possible condition or circumstance that may have a bearing upon the attainment of the desired result.

In the light of the above, schools and colleges of commerce are giving increasing attention to the subject of business research. Time was when the student was not called upon to develop research technique in any field until he had entered upon graduate work proper. This most vital phase of preparation is now almost uniformly being pushed back into the work of the junior and senior years. An increasing amount of attention is being given to the whole problem of method and procedure in the assembly, organization and analysis of data, the evaluation of evidence, and the preparation of business documents and reports. The approach is coming to be quite comparable to that involved in the preparation of a legal brief except that the student is urged to approach his problem from the standpoint, not of the case that is to be

proved, but rather of the truth that is to be found.

The nature of the subject matter facing business research offers a most unique field for the development of the view point of the scholar. The problems involved are frequently so delicate, and the interests so vital and far-reaching, as to demand the highest order of skill and integrity on the part of him who undertakes to find the truth and assert it. The research student should therefore be urged to isolate his problem, to abstract himself from it, to objectify the issue, and to devote himself to its solution through exhaustive investigation, critical analysis, and unprejudiced appraisal of authorities.

It is a difficult task to develop in the mind of the student, an impersonal viewpoint toward any problems in which he has other than a merely scientific interest. Perhaps only those of the strongest character and greatest aptitude may hope to attain it. This is especially true of those who would essay to enter the field of business research. It is almost invariably the business aspect of all problems, whether of a private, institutional, or governmental, nature, that renders most difficult the uncovering of the truth.

In the physical sciences, the immediate and ultimate personal advancement of the investigator, as well as the employer, is usually conditioned upon accurate test, observation, and conclusion. The very nature of the problem compels the impersonal viewpoint. The investigator is dealing with compounds and elements which are themselves objective. He performs his function when he weighs his elements, creates certain conditions of moisture, temperature, pressure, purity, and so forth, and then simply makes correct observation and tabulation of reactions. All this is tedious and exacting, but it is not a strain on the moral fibre

of the investigator. Similar observations, having more or less force, may be made with regard to other fields of learning, leading almost invariably to the conclusion that it is the investigation of the business aspect of all problems that requires the finest poise and balance, as well as the highest order of devotion to truth.

The reason for the above conclusion is obvious: The investigator of business problems is one with an interest. He can scarcely be oblivious to the conclusions he draws because those conclusions are so frequently colored by his real, or apparent, interest; it is likewise with labor. The investigation of wages, salaries, competition, location of an industry, price movements, taxation, tariff, ship subsidy, railroad rates,—all, involve financial interests that almost invariably modify, if they do not dominate, the nature of the conclusions reached. It can often be shown that the finding of the truth and the proclamation of it promote the ultimate interest even of the individual, or group, apparently affected detrimentally. A pity it can not always be shown—save for this: That the refinement of character and the strengthening of the moral sinew for even more exacting tests, are accomplished only under stress where the selfish interests are not obviously served.

Much emphasis should be placed on method, or the technique of research. The novice approaches his work with little idea of the necessity of definition and clear specification of the exact problem; not only so, but he knows little about how to organize his material to keep check on his authorities, etc. The following steps seem fairly clearly defined: Definition of problem; outline of treatment; preparation of bibliography; assembly of material, meanwhile develop-

ment and modification of outline as the investigation proceeds; and, finally, analysis, evaluation and findings. It is not intended to leave the impression that the above steps are separate and distinct from each other, or that they should be taken in the order named. They frequently merge into each other and must be carried along simultaneously as indicated in the discussion to follow.

The importance of definition of the problem, with limitations clearly prescribed can not be too much emphasized. It is always preferable to narrow the issue to those particular phases of the larger problem that have not been covered by the contribution of others. This means that the research student must be thoroughly aware of what has already been accomplished as set forth not only in his native literature but also in the literature of other peoples. The literature of the subject is therefore an essential background if one would make a contribution to it. It should be mastered and its contribution briefly summarized in an introductory statement. The student is then in a position to grasp the problems involved and clearly to define that particular phase which it is his intention to attack. The fact that further study may necessitate a shift in specifications or objective renders none the less important the above procedure; otherwise the study is haphazard and rudderless.

The investigator may find as he delves further into the subject that the phase chosen has already been covered in whole or in part; or he may find that it is too narrow or too broad; or that source material is unobtainable, or even that the subject is of such minor significance as to be scarcely worthy of elaborate study and analysis. Such findings may justify more or less refinement of the theme, or even the abandonment of it.

The student should make this initial survey himself. It is an important part of his training in research. He should submit his findings to his committee together with a complete statement of bibliography, both primary and secondary, with equal care, whether such findings be favorable or unfavorable to the modification or abandonment of the subject. It is even conceivable that the conclusive finding and demonstration that no end would be served by a certain line of investigation would constitute in itself a very vital contribution to knowledge— even worthy of acceptance as in partial fulfillment of the requirements for an advanced degree.

The preparation of an outline of the project should begin as soon as the problem has been tentatively defined. The outline is the skeleton that is to be filled in and rounded out. But it should not be regarded as inflexible and unalterable. The digging out of stores of knowledge and the dawning of a broader understanding of the issues involved, as the study proceeds, will necessitate continuous modification of the outline to keep pace with the growth of the concept. An outline should therefore precede the investigation and at the same time be carried on to its completion simultaneously with the investigation.

The novice finds himself facing utmost confusion as he attempts to record data and organize it for his purposes. It is necessary to sift through a large amount of material in order to abstract that which is pertinent to his theme; to collate and classify data from numerous authorities bearing upon the sundry points in issue; to keep track of all authorities so that material introduced in evidence may be directly identified and its significance determined.

The assembly and systematic arrange-

initial part should be arranged to meet the second part of the research findings. The student should then take the subject in hand and the outline on that main line in itself be developed, partial for an outline of the problem. The outline should be filled in and not be too large. The knowledge of the subject should be continuous and the pace kept up. An outline of the investigation should be carried out with the utmost care. It is the amount of data which is to be used and the authorities on the issue; so that it may be significant. The arrangement of subject matter and bibliography will be greatly facilitated by building up two sets of files which may be designated respectively as "content," and "bibliography," files. The content file should be arranged in the order of the carefully prepared outline. Separators should bear in the upper left hand corner the topics and subtopics appearing in the outline. The complete file of separators, each bearing a single topic or subtopic, will then constitute the complete outline. The cards used may be 3 x 5, or larger as convenience may dictate.

It goes, without saying, that the bibliography should be carefully developed along with the content file. In the arrangement of the bibliography files the alphabetical order should be observed. Where it is necessary to cover a large amount of secondary material, it is perhaps advisable to classify the bibliography into, "source material" and "secondary material." The former should be clearly differentiated from the latter. The subject itself often determines the nature of the distinction. No fast and tight line may be drawn. In source material, we usually include such as the following: Data assembled without prejudice by governments, private industry, or individuals in their direct contact with the problem under investigation; decisions and reports of duly constituted governmental agencies and private institutions; and books of account and statistical data prepared as guides to business or governmental policies. Secondary material usually includes books, periodicals, newspapers, etc., that represent the interpretation by some individual or group of individuals of material of the first order, or of other material of a secondary nature. Some of this material may be highly authentic but it can not be regarded as original source material. It should al-

ways be used with caution and should be wholly eliminated from that part of the findings upon which the student relies for his original contribution to the subject in hand.

It is obvious that the reasons lying behind the assembly of any data or the preparation of any report have much to do with the weight to be assigned in the evaluation of authorities. So soon as it becomes apparent that the investigator is straining his facts to build up a case, the data in question partakes of the nature of secondary data, and should be so regarded. The closest scrutiny and the finest discrimination are required in the assignment of material to its proper class. Even when so classified, it will often be found necessary to make many exceptions to the general rule in order that the true weight of the various contributions may be appraised with the minimum of error. It may even be found that material held as secondary for certain purposes, assumes the importance of material of the first order for other purposes. For instance, an expert may be employed by an unprincipled business concern to draft a report on the relation between the cost of living and the wage scale, favorable to a wage decrease. The report would be secondary material of the lowest order from the standpoint of the findings; it would be source material of the highest order in a study of the wage policy of the concern in question.

It is good practice, in the preparation of the bibliography, to include a brief statement showing the contribution of the source or authority to the subject under investigation. Such a statement is not only essential as a guide to the selection of a proper research topic; it also helps the critical student and the reviewer to appraise, at a glance, the scope and authority of the work and at the

same time guides him in any search he may care to make in the same, or a related, field.

With tentative outline complete, and a definite plan in mind for the systematic arrangement of content and bibliography files, the student is ready to proceed with his investigation and his assembly of material. If the plan above proposed be followed, he may range over the whole field of his subject without confusion, simply entering his notes in the content file in the appropriate place as indicated by the topical separators. Each separate sheet or card so inserted should bear at its upper left hand corner the topic or sub-topic, or a brief identification symbol determined upon, so that it will find its proper place in the content file; and at its lower left hand corner the source of the data which for economy of time may also be indicated by an appropriate symbol. An additional sheet or card bearing the source reference should at the same time be prepared for the bibliography file.

The above procedure may seem slow and tedious but in the long run it saves time and reduces errors and omissions to a minimum. Furthermore, the method contributes to a well-balanced treatment of the whole subject, a mere glance through the files indicating at once those phases of the subject that require additional investigation.

The mere compilation of material should be avoided. Quotation marks should seldom be used. If the statement in question assumes peculiar significance only because it is attributable to a particular individual, it may be quoted; or if it is desired critically to analyze and interpret a dictum, the precise words may be given as a protection both to the source and the critic. Seldom if ever should mere descriptive, or clearly factitive, material

appear within quotations. The statement should be assimilated as it is gleaned. It should then be entered, with the appropriate authority, in the files in the language of the investigator. This language should be precisely, or as nearly so as practicable, as it is to appear in the final report or treatise. The mental effort must be made sometime and it is more economical, and withal, more scientific to masticate the material as it is assembled; otherwise the entire process is postponed until the assembling process has been completed. The isolated data removed from their context may not then be properly interpreted; not only so, but the task of assimilating the raw, or semi-finished material then becomes such an arduous one, that it is apt to be neglected, resulting in a document that is a mere compilation rather than a scholarly and scientific treatise.

The analysis of data, evaluation of authorities, and the formation of conclusion, can not be sharply separated from the assembly and organization of material. The processes should be carried on simultaneously. If the method of assembling, digesting, and organizing, as sketched above, be followed, together with the development of reference and bibliography, as suggested, the work will be all but completed by the time the material has been assembled. This applies even to conclusions, which are emerging constantly, as the comparative study of authoritative data proceeds.

In transmitting notes from the content file to the text, care should be taken to carry references throughout the body of the treatise so that the reader may determine at a glance the authority upon which a given statement rests. This may be conveniently indicated by placing a reference symbol at the conclusion of the statement, directing the reader to the

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corresponding symbol at the bottom of the same page for the authority upon which the statement rests.

The student may now review his files, supplementing or eliminating as may be necessary, and further apply himself to the

final, critical evaluation of his authorities, and the refinement of his conclusions: Then he has merely to look to the smooth, logical coördination of his theme, and the polish of his expression, and the work is done.

FINDING THE TRUTH ON CURRENT ISSUES

JEROME DAVIS

AS STUDENTS of social facts we find a continual necessity of consulting secondary sources about contemporary social events. It is not always easy for any of us to turn quickly to just the material we need, although we have probably had a long experience in the laboratory of social facts. Our intellectual tools have been sharpened and resharpened through a long "use process." This is not so true of the student of social science who is passing through his "initiation" experience. As we were blundering along in the initial stages it would have been of great assistance to most of us if we could have had summarized references to standard secondary sources. The following outline is given in the hope that it may be of some value primarily to the beginner in the social field. The source material might obviously have been expanded to much greater lengths and other references might have been included, but the attempt has been made to keep the entire list within a relatively brief compass while covering a wide range of different types of subject matter, so as to meet the needs of students with a wide variety of differing interests.

I. INDEXES

1. *Public Affairs Information Service.* The best guide to public questions.
2. *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature*

(*Pool's Index* prior to 1900). Indexes monthly the articles that appear in important periodicals.

3. *The Industrial Arts Index.* This is like *Readers' Guide*, but lists articles in technical periodicals.

4. *International Index to Periodicals* (*Readers' Guide Supplement* prior to 1920).

5. *A. L. A. Index to General Literature* (for separate articles included within composite volumes).

6. *Subject Index to Periodicals* (since 1915).

7. *Book Review Digest.* Gives references to reviews of recent books.

8. *New York Times Index.* A classification of items in the daily press as they appeared in the *New York Times*.

9. *United States Catalogue* (American Catalogue prior to 1912). A list of books published in the United States arranged by author and subject and supplemented by the *Cumulative Book Index* which is monthly except August.

II. GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS¹

A. Of the United States

1. *Bureau of the Census.* The decennial census gives the facts about population

¹The various publications issued by the League of Nations should not be overlooked especially those of the International Labor Office which also issues a monthly *International Labor Review*.

(distribution, composition, occupation), agriculture, manufacturing, and mining. Annual publications of the census deal with: births, financial statistics of cities and states, as well as mortality figures. In addition, there are various special reports issued at infrequent and irregular intervals such as: *Wealth, Debt and Taxation*, 1913; *Marriage and Divorce*, 1867-1906; *Negro Population in the U. S.*, 1790-1915; *Prisoners and Juvenile Delinquents in the U. S.*, 1910; and *Religious Bodies*, 1916. It publishes a *Weekly Health Index* and a monthly *Survey of Current Business* jointly with the Bureau of Standards and the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce.

2. *U. S. Trade Commission*. Has in the past issued reports against unethical business practices. Control has for the time being shifted to those who are not so much interested in publishing their investigations.

3. *Interstate Commerce Commission*. Gives statistical reports on the railroads.

4. *The Federal Reserve Board*. Issues a monthly Federal Reserve Bulletin.

5. *The U. S. Public Health Department*. Special health reports, notably a series of leaflets against venereal disease.

6. *The Department of Labor*. Issues the *Monthly Labor Review* (\$1.50 a year). The most important periodical in the labor field. Special bulletins of the Bureau of Labor Statistics are very important. They can usually be secured free of charge. The reports of the Women's Bureau and the Children's Bureau are especially important.

7. *The Department of Agriculture*. Valuable for rural problems. Issues a weekly on *Weather, Crops and Markets* and a *Year-Book*.

8. *Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce*. Issues an annual *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, a *Commerce Year-*

book, a *Monthly Summary of Foreign Commerce*, and weekly *Commerce Reports*.

9. *Annual Report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration*. Valuable for those interested in immigration problems.

10. *Report of U. S. Commission on Industrial Relations*, 1915. Important though old.

11. *United States Bureau of Education*. Publishes a Bulletin at frequent intervals on such special subjects as *Rural Education*, *Educational Research*, *Americanization in the United States*. In 1925 there were over 40 members.

12. *Congressional Record*. Verbatim report of all the proceedings of Congress including many speeches which are never delivered. Indexed rather badly.

B. State Labor Departments

Nearly all the states have some industrial bureau, although the title varies. New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Illinois, and Wisconsin have especially good departments. For example, the New York Department of Labor publishes the following:

1. *The Industrial Bulletin*, a monthly magazine dealing with such subjects as the Schenectady car line strike; depression and recovery as they affect different lines of business; the average earnings of men and women in representative factories; working hours; the labor market; comparison of the average weekly earnings in New York State factories with the cost of living in New York State, etc.

2. Special Bulletins, on various subjects, e.g.,

Bul. 100. "The Telephone Industry," July 1920, 96 pp.

Bul. 112. "Economic Value of Maintaining Clean Windows and Lighting Fixtures," June 1922, 15 pp.

Bul. 117. "The Outer Wear Knit Goods Industry," March 1923, 19 pp.

III. SCIENTIFIC AGENCIES OR FOUNDATIONS

1. *Harvard University Committee on Economic Research* furnishes the Harvard Economic Service to business men,—“an experiment by an educational institution in the application of economic science to American business management not maintained for private gain but for promotion of economic research.”

2. *Pollak Foundation for Economic Research* (Newton, Mass.) “is privately endowed for the purpose of studying the means whereby the economic activities of the world may be so directed and the products so distributed as to yield to the people generally the largest possible satisfaction.” Prints books at low cost, such as “The Making of Index Numbers,” by Irving Fisher; “Cycles of Unemployment,” by Wm. Arthur Berridge; “Bank Credit and Business Cycles,” by O. M. W. Sprague; and “Profits,” by Foster and Catchings.

3. *The National Bureau of Economic Research, Inc.* (New York) was organized in 1920 “in response to a growing demand for exact and impartial determinations of the facts bearing upon economic, social and industrial problems.” The Board of Directors has represented upon it “the principal viewpoints from which economic, social and industrial problems are regarded.” Among its substantial studies has been one on “Income in the United States,” and another on “Growth of American Trade Unions, 1880-1923.”

4. *The Institute of Economics* (Washington, D. C.), “conducted with the sole object of ascertaining the facts about current economic problems and of interpreting these facts for the people of the United States in the most simple and understandable form” and “without regard to the special interests of any group.” Among important publications are “Ger-

many’s Capacity to Pay,” by Moulton and McGuire, and “Miners’ Wages and the Cost of Coal,” by Lubin.

5. *The Russell Sage Foundation* (New York) has a Department of Industrial Studies “engaged in the study of industrial conditions affecting both men and women. It aims to discover facts which may be a guide for public opinion and a basis for constructive action to improve conditions of work.” Recently published a study of unemployment, as well as a report on employee representation in the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company.

6. *The American Association for Labor Legislation* (131 E. 23d St., New York) has the support of those interested in research and education with respect to needed labor legislation. It investigates such matters as workmen’s compensation, laws limiting the hours of labor, unemployment insurance, health insurance, and other governmental measures, and is engaged in urging its views upon the state legislatures and the national government. The Association issues the *American Labor Legislation Review*, a quarterly publication containing significant material on the labor problem, and numerous pamphlets.

7. *The Bureau of Social Hygiene, Inc.* (370 Seventh Ave., New York). For the study, amelioration, and prevention of prostitution and social diseases.

IV. PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS ON A SELF-SUPPORTING BASIS

1. *The National Industrial Conference Board* is perhaps the leading research organization of the organized employers in the country. It is supported “by and from national and state industrial associations” such as the American Cotton Manufacturers Association, the American Paper and Pulp Association, the National Boot and Shoe Manufacturers Association,

and perhaps a score of others. It has published over two hundred special reports in the field of industrial relations, one of special interest being "Changes in the Cost of Living," issued frequently and valuable as a comparison with a similar series issued officially by the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. It makes extensive surveys of special problems such as employee representation. It also publishes its data in graphic form on charts. The *Industrial News Survey* is the official periodical of the organization.

2. *The American Management Association* (20 Vesey St., New York): formerly the National Personnel Association, before that the Industrial Relations Association of America, and originally the National Association of Employment Managers. It publishes material on the more detailed problems of labor, such as labor turnover, employee education, and other phases of personnel administration.

3. *A Group of Organizations* attempting to help business men to forecast business conditions includes Babson's Statistical Organization, Wellesley Hills, Mass.; the Brookmire Economic Service, New York; Moody's Investor's Service, New York; Poor's Publishing Company, New York; the Business Barometer Dial, New York; the Bureau of Railway Economics, and the Standard Statistics Company, New York. For description of each of these, for list of some "important original compilations of statistics" published by the business corporations which compile them or by such journals as *Bradstreet's* and *Dun's Review*, the *Journal of Commerce*, the *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, etc., and for other related data, see chapter by Oswald W. Knauth on "Statistical Indexes of Business Conditions and Their Uses" in *Business Cycles and Unemployment*, a publication of the National Bureau of Economic Research.

4. *The Labor Bureau, Inc.* (New York) "is a group of technicians rendering professional service to labor organizations or to others working for some public purpose of benefit to labor." On its staff are economists, statisticians, engineers, and accountants. The reports issued are particularly useful in checking with those of the employers. Since its organization it has served over three hundred labor unions.

5. *The Workers Education Bureau* (476 West 24th St., New York) helps to spread education among the workers and is largely, although not entirely, supported by the trade unions.

V. ASSOCIATIONS REPRESENTING ONE PARTICULAR CLASS OR GROUP

1. When impartial scientific testimony is not available, it is frequently necessary to go directly to the particular group involved. Indeed, it is usually wise to secure their opinion even on what purports to be a scientific report. If the question relates to a particular branch of industry, there is probably an association of the employers and perhaps a union which can be consulted. The periodicals of these organizations are especially important. Among the special trade journals of the employers are:

Coal Age
Iron Age
Oil, Paint and Drug Reporter
Railway Age
The American Contractor
Automotive Industries

2. *Publications of Organized Labor.* (a) The American Federation of Labor (Ninth Street and Massachusetts Avenue, Washington, D. C.) is the chief organization. The *American Federationist*, which is published monthly, is its official journal. It also issues pamphlets and leaflets ex-

pressing its attitude on current issues. The *Proceedings of the Annual Convention*, containing the Report of the Executive Committee, is especially valuable; it contains a record of the voting strength of each union, and since each vote stands for an average of 100 paid-up members in the preceding year, this indicates the progress in union membership. The published "List of Organizations Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor" gives the chief unions, with the names and addresses of the officers.

(b) A specially valuable source of information on industrial relations problems of the individual trades are the magazines published by the labor unions. For example, the following:

The Advance of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers
The Paper Makers Journal
The Shoe Workers Journal
The Leather Workers Journal
The Textile Worker
The United Mine Workers Journal
Labor (official weekly of the sixteen railroad crafts)
The Locomotive Engineers Journal
The Federated Press Labor Letter

3. Many business corporations maintain their own, sometimes extensive, research departments.

Banks. Each of the twelve Federal Reserve Banks publishes a bulletin of value. The National City Bank of New York, the Guaranty Trust Company of New York, and the Cleveland Trust Company are among those which publish monthly bulletins. The Chase National Bank, New York, publishes occasional pamphlets on current economic subjects by its well known economist, Benjamin Anderson, Jr.

The American Telephone and Telegraph Company (New York) does research work "for the use of Bell System executives only," not for general use.

The Metropolitan Life Insurance Company (New York) has an excellent research department in the field of health. Most of its bulletins and charts can be secured free.

4. Some of the unions have undertaken to get facts in their own behalf.

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (New York) collects information on wages, on the development of the labor bank movement, on its unemployment insurance agreement, "and other data of interest to the labor movement and to the clothing industry." It also maintains a great deal of educational work, which includes public forums, debates, classes, and special publications.

The International Ladies' Garment Workers Union (New York) has a research department to collect facts about the industry. It also maintains a Workers' University in New York City as well as educational classes in other centers.

The United Mine Workers in 1921 created a Nationalization Research Committee to study the nationalization of mines and to submit a plan. The results of their work appeared in the pamphlet, "How to Run Coal."

The Railroad Brotherhoods often use well-known economists to make special investigations.

5. Two general organizations that seek facts in behalf of the people:

The People's Legislative Service (Washington, D. C.), a "voluntary organization of citizens," one of the tasks of which is to supply "progressive members of both houses of Congress with facts and figures."

The National Popular Government League (Washington, D. C.), a non-partisan organization, aims to "build the needed new and guard the valid old." It has published in popular form facts on the Ontario experiment in the hydro-electric field and on "the economics of war and diplomacy."

6. *Foreign Policy Association* (3 W. 29th St., New York). Conducts forums on international problems, with representatives from both sides.
7. *National Council for Prevention of War* (532 17th St., Washington, D. C.). Probably the most important peace organization.
8. *American Association for International Conciliation* (407 W. 117th St., New York).
9. *World Peace Foundation* (40 Mt. Vernon St., Boston, Mass.).
10. *American Birth Control League* (104 Fifth Ave., New York). Founded to educate the public to the need for a controlled birth rate.
11. *Fellowship of Reconciliation* (Bible House, New York). An organization of those who believe in substituting goodwill for violence.
12. *American Civil Liberties Union* (138 W. 13th St., New York). Wherever freedom of speech, freedom of press, or freedom of assemblage is threatened, the union offers its aid. It also does large publicity work in behalf of civil liberty.
13. *National Association for the Advancement of Colored People* (69 Fifth Ave., New York). One of the most important organizations working for the Negro. Issues a monthly, *The Crisis*.
14. *The Co-operative League of America* (167 West 12th St., New York). Organized to spread the knowledge of the consumers coöperative movement. Publishes a monthly, *Co-operation*.

VI. FACT-FINDING AGENCIES OF THE CHURCHES

1. *The Interchurch World Movement Steel Strike Commission* investigation represents the best-known field study made by a church body. Established in 1919, it employed experts, held hearings, conducted inspection trips in the strike areas, and published reports after their official

adoption in "The Steel Strike of 1919" and "Public Opinion and the Steel Strike."

2. *The Federal Council of Churches Research Department*. Investigations by this body have included a study of the Bethlehem steel strike in 1910, of the Muscatine strike in button factories in 1912, of the Lawrence textile mills strike in 1919, a survey of the logging camps of the Pacific Northwest in 1919, and a study of deportations in 1921. The Council had a prominent part in the investigation of the Denver tramway strike in 1921, and in 1923 carried on a study of the employees' representation plan on the Pennsylvania Railroad. It has published reports of these field studies and other pamphlets containing important economic facts. It prints a weekly *Information Service* costing two dollars a year which summarizes outstanding social events or reviews important new books.

3. *The National Catholic Welfare Conference* studies current events and reports in the industrial field and publishes summaries in its weekly news sheet. It coöperated in the Denver tramway strike investigation.

4. *Institute of Social and Religious Surveys* (370 Seventh Ave., New York) makes scientific studies of religious problems. It has made notable investigations on theological education, rural and urban religious life, and religious education.

5. *The Church League for Industrial Democracy*, an organization of members of the Episcopal Church, conducted an investigation of the strike of the Associated Silk Workers in Paterson, N. J.

6. *Social Service Secretaries of Religious Bodies*:

- a. Baptist: Rev. John W. Elliott, 1701 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pa.
- b. Baptist: Rev. Frank A. Smith, 23 E. 26th St., New York City.

- c. Congregational: Rev. Hubert Herring, 14 Beacon St., Boston, Mass.
- d. Disciples: Rev. Alva W. Taylor, 821 Occidental Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
- e. Episcopal: Rev. Charles N. Lathrop, 281 Fourth Ave., New York City.
- f. Lutheran: Rev. William Freas, 437 Fifth Ave., New York City.
- g. Methodist: Rev. M. P. Burns, 1701 Arch St., Philadelphia, Pa.
- h. Methodist: Rev. Harry F. Ward, 150 Fifth Ave., New York City.
- i. Methodist Episcopal South: Rev. A. C. Zumbrunnen, 706 Church St., Nashville, Tenn.
- j. National Catholic Welfare Council, 1312 Massachusetts Ave., N. W., Washington, D. C.
- k. Presbyterian: Rev. John McDowell, 156 Fifth Ave., New York.
- l. Reformed: Rev. James M. Mullan, 15th and Race Streets, Philadelphia, Pa.
- m. Seventh Day Baptist: Rev. Harold R. Crandall, 3681 Broadway, New York City.

VII. YEAR-BOOKS

1. *The American Year-Book* (Macmillan)
2. *The American Labor Year-Book* (7 E. 13th St., New York). The best hand-book on American labor
3. *The Labour Year-Book* (London)
4. Annuals of the various encyclopedias, especially of the *Encyclopedie Americana*
5. *Social Progress, A Handbook of the Liberal Movement*, with the current facts from the liberal point of view (114 E. 31st St., New York)
6. *The Statesman's Year-Book* (Macmillan)
7. *The World Almanac* (The New York World)

VIII. PERIODICALS

The following list of certain periodicals with which students should be familiar is not intended to be exhaustive. Others could be substituted for many that are listed, and each student will want to add those periodicals which he himself has found to be useful. The aim has been, first, to cite certain scientific publications with which every one in the sociological field should be familiar; then, certain more popular publications which are to a large

extent controversial in character. It is the theory of the writer that if the student of social problems is to keep open-minded on current social events he must read "the other person's point of view." In other words, the more violently he opposes the views advanced by the *New Republic*, the more in duty bound he is to read it. If, on the other hand, he firmly believes in the *New Republic*, he must carefully read some conservative antidote.

(a) Important Scientific Publications:

- American Economic Review
- American Journal of Sociology
- American Labor Legislation Review
- The Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science
- International Journal of Ethics
- The Journal of Political Economy
- Journal of the American Statistical Association
- The Journal of Applied Sociology
- Political Science Quarterly
- The Quarterly Journal of Economics
- Social Forces

(b) Other Periodicals:

- American Federationist
- American Child
- American Journal of Public Health
- Birth Control Review
- Co-operation
- Christian Century
- The Family
- Federated Press, Labor Letter (156 W. Washington St., Chicago)
- Foreign Affairs
- Industrial Management
- International Trade Union Review (Amsterdam, Holland)
- Locomotive Engineers Journal
- Labor Age
- Labor
- The Manchester Guardian (weekly—England)
- The Monthly Labor Review
- The New Leader (London)
- New Leader (New York)
- Nation
- New Republic
- Searchlight
- Social Service Bulletin (150 Fifth Ave., New York)

Survey
Survey Graphic
The Standard
World Tomorrow

Addresses and circulation for all periodicals in America can be found in Ayer's *Newspaper Annual*.

IX. COMMUNITY INSTITUTIONS OR ORGANIZATIONS

While all the organizations listed below will not be found in any one community, sociological students will find that at some time in their study they will want to know most of them:

1. The Charity Organization Society. This society is called by a variety of different terms in different localities. Sometimes the name is merely reversed; for instance, The Organized Charity Association. Whatever the name, the student should be familiar with its work and should secure from it a list of all the public and private welfare organizations of the community.
2. Outstanding Public Welfare Institutions.
3. The Courts.
4. The Jail.
5. The Central Trades Council.
6. The Various Union Headquarters.

7. The Socialist Headquarters.
8. The Communist Headquarters.
9. I. W. W. Headquarters.
10. The American Farm Bureau Federation.
11. Any Local Co-operative.
12. The Chamber of Commerce.
13. The Manufacturers Association.
14. Any Open Shop Organization.

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GUIDES TO PERIODICAL READING

GEORGE B. LOGAN

Victims of a real social revolution, the middle classes of America are passing away. The plutocratic ideal that rules this land judges wealth only by those things that can be purchased and displayed, and the men and women who believe that privacy and intellectual recreation and some measure of personal

service are necessities, while automobiles and jewelery and fine clothes are luxuries, find themselves becoming yearly a smaller and more contemptible minority. This is "The Plight of the Genteel," as depicted in tragi-comic paragraphs by Katherine Fullerton Gerould in *Harper's* for February. The poverty and threatened

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extinction of those people who in the past have furnished the country its leaders alarms none but themselves; and their only salvation lies in definitely renouncing the standards of the mob, cultivating a Spartan simplicity of life, and holding grimly to those intangible distinctions they consider of most genuine worth.

Under the educated, civilized exterior of the grown man or woman lies a deep substratum of infantile traits and tendencies. Few of us are able to recognize the universality of cause and effect, and a great deal of primitive mentality comes strangely to the surface in times of stress. We indulge a host of petty superstitions; rush to buy quack medicines and quack religions; follow absurd fashions in dress; think and talk chiefly in catch phrases; put ourselves in the hands of mediums, palmists, and crystal-gazers; are subject to waves of unreasoning mass emotion; celebrate by getting drunk or making all the noise we can. And much more, instanced by D. Fraser Harris in the January *Contemporary Review* as clear evidence of "Childishness in Adult Life."

Science affects life not only through material inventions and discoveries but by acting directly on the imagination. During most of the last century physics, with its mechanistic view of the world, ruled men's minds; today the organic, evolutionary view of biology is paramount. Tomorrow psychology, approached by way either of behavior or psycho-analysis, is likely to take their place. Its power over political life will lie in discovery and control of the impulses on which men act. Social life is based now on the single economic motive of acquisitiveness; but if other motives, such as sex, love of power, vanity, and rivalry can find generous outlets and be

trained for the good of life human happiness will be immensely increased. Such is the thesis of an arresting paper on "Psychology and Politics" by Bertrand Russell in the March *Dial*.

This problem merges into that of "Freedom in Society," upon which Mr. Russell turns his keen glance in *Harper's* for the same month. The obstacles to liberty, he says, are of two sorts, physical and social. Community life diminishes the physical while it creates new social obstacles; and the question becomes one of making the best terms with both. The rights to food, drink, health, housing, clothing, sex, and parenthood being the bare minimum of freedom, no person may possess further comforts or luxuries at the cost to another of these necessities. The implication of this statement are considerable, and the author, like a contemporary Mill, pursues them closely through the fields of politics, economics, race relations, and personal intercourse. The transformation of character by means of education is the only genuine road to freedom.

Social hygiene is a new name for old ideas. It recognizes that man and society are organisms, potentially able to make and keep themselves whole. Julian S. Huxley shows in the *Nineteenth Century* for February how effectively its aims can be approached through biology. Biology can give us the evolutionary view, that improvement comes through the longest-range adaptation on the widest scale. It can tell us the truth about the all-important yet entirely normal fact of sex. It can show us how to prevent disease and promote the active principle of health. And it may shock us by proving that while individual health is increasing, racial health, its deterioration masked by sanitation, good housing, and better

medical treatment, is declining through slower multiplication of good stocks and faster reproduction of defective stocks.

Last August Harry Elmer Barnes described all too briefly, in the *American Mercury*, the present state of sociology in this country. The *Modern Quarterly* for February contains his elaboration of this subject, together with a historical sketch of its development from such unexpected sources as Madison and Calhoun, through the classic period of Ward and Sumner, to the current era of Giddings, Small, Ross, and their disciples. Our greatest need is a first-rate, vigorous graduate department in some university, where talents now cramped by undergraduate teaching may find wider scope.

In somewhat similar fashion Frank W. Blackmar analyses "The Sociology Complex" in the January-February *Journal of Applied Sociology*. He points out that the science is in the restless confusion of biology before 1859, with no unified principle and method yet in sight. It offers splendid opportunities to young scholars of high mental endowment.

W. G. Binnewies reports a statistical study of what he terms rural social distance, in which several hundred women students expressed their relative preference for farmers, business men, and professional men as husbands and for six types of country or city life. . . . Commercial vice areas in cities, Walter C. Reckless has found, can be described and explained by various factors which serve also as indices to their location. Among these factors are cheap theaters, rescue missions, crime, certain foreign colonies, an excess of unmarried men, declining population, and the combination of high land values and low rents.

Democracy, since the war at new grips with a revived autocratic spirit, must rest on four fundamental conditions: a healthy cultural environment, steady and suitable employment, more equitable distribution of wealth, and fairer representation of interests in government. Its enemies maintain that the present wasteful and cruel social order is the normal one, that the great mass of men are biologically incapable of carrying it on, and that the rule of the few has been the past and will be the future reliance of civilization. But history, science, and faith in mankind alike deny these claims. Autocracy is fighting a losing battle, and in industry, its last stand, the barriers are going down. "The Coming of Democracy" is a spiritual challenge to the Christian spirit, declares Charles J. Bushnell in the January-February *American Review*.

Frank H. Hankins is rather less hopeful. Democracy, together with the Christian tradition and a large surplus of wealth, he says in the same issue, has brought about our vigorous humanitarianism, which is working toward the elimination of the best and preservation of the poorest stocks. Though acquired characters are never transmitted, the proved inheritance of physical and mental traits argues the extreme importance of reducing the number of defective individuals, now being encouraged to breed faster than ever, who will corrupt the future vigor and integrity of the race. Uncritical efforts to help those who seem to be most in need will be swamped by their very fecundity. There is here a deep conflict between human sympathy and racial improvement.

A no less fundamental cleavage is discerned by W. B. Mahan between our educational ideals and the actual values of our national life. "The Newer Dis-

cipline" of the schoolroom emphasizes liberty, happiness, and the expansion of personality. We analyze the child, declares the author in the same number, in order to find out what he wants instead of trying, as the older Puritan system did, to fit him into a definite social pattern. Yet American society remains Puritan at heart: liberty is a pretentious mockery, force at the bottom of our ethics, and reason only a device for recognizing the good sense of conformity. Would not an honest realism tell the children the truth about the life they are growing up into and, putting aside false idealism, prepare them to become a part of it?

Drawing his conclusions from a study of well-known musical families, Jon A. Mjøen finds in the January *Eugenics Review* that heredity is the largest single factor in producing this and presumably other talent. "Genius as a Biological Problem" depends not only on the ability of the father or mother but on the character of both parent stocks for two or three generations and on the combination of congenital traits thus produced. When the latter two factors are not taken into account the distribution of talent within a single family often appears to be arbitrary.

The problem of immigration is one of qualities, not quantities. Had it been cut off in 1850, there would be today just as many people here and in Europe as there are, for natural fertility adjusts itself quickly to economic needs. However, immigration is an asset in increasing the ratio of producers to total population, which explains in part why America is more prosperous than Europe, and Massachusetts than South Carolina. Also, mixed breeds are stronger and more resourceful

than pure, provided there be not too much or too rapid a mixture. To disregard these facts, which are well supported by experimental evidence, and to consider immigration solely as a political or industrial issue, is to fall into serious error, says Ezra Bowen in the *Scientific Monthly* for January.

The preceding article is a discussion of "Infant Mortality and the Survival of the Fittest," in which Charles Herrman attempts to mediate between those who would reduce the death-rate among children and those who hold that such reduction is futile if not injurious to the race. Mortality he argues, is due either to hereditary defects or to accidental (i.e., largely preventable) causes, and it is only the second sort that we have been able to control. Hence a high mortality sacrifices the unfortunate as well as the unfit. Natural selection is still effective, and until we learn how to influence the germ plasm and immunize against infections we shall not greatly interfere with its operation. It is thus possible to be both humane and sound in the biological faith.

Sociologists, judges, and physicians have been taking it as proven that low mentality is one of the chief causes of delinquency. The Binet-Simon tests, as introduced to this country by Goddard and applied enthusiastically to school children, Negroes, foreigners, and prisoners, have been responsible for this dogma. But, as Margaret W. Curti argues in the February issue, all these earlier experiments are now under suspicion, since the tests were poorly standardized, based on too few individuals, too difficult for the adolescent years, and often given haphazardly by ill-trained workers.

NATIONAL HISTORICAL ENDOWMENT

ALL who are interested in the development of history in this country will watch with great interest the efforts now being made by the American Historical Association to raise an endowment fund of one million dollars to enable the Association to carry on and extend its work for national history. This is a very large country and it is going to be still larger; and the sum asked for is none too large for the purpose in view. History has a great many contacts with present day life. It reaches into the remote past and enters into the actual present. It deals with all kinds of human activity, with political action, with social forces, with religions and the services of the churches to mankind, with the progress of science through their influence on human living, and with many phases of nature in relation to the life of mankind. The army of men who touch these lines of activity is so vast and so complex that the Association that has the task of aiding and arranging their efforts is bound to be one of the most important parts of society's organic life.

It is just this kind of task that this great national organization of historical scholars has to assume. The future is with the men who organize their forces. Not that they will displace the work of the individual, but that they will co-ordinate it within its own sphere, giving aid where aid is needed, and making suggestions guiding the lines along which development may be made. The realization by

the historians of their function in this field is one of the hopeful things in the present day march of events.

The canvass which is announced is under the direction of an Endowment Committee of which the Hon. Albert J. Beveridge is chairman and Professor Solon J. Buck is secretary, with an office at 110 Library, Columbia University, New York. The immediate purposes for which money is asked of the public embrace the grant of small sums to enable scholars to pay the expenses of actual research, the advance of small sums to bring out books of scholarly importance which commercial publishers will not publish without some kind of guarantee, the promotion of a wider effort in the preservation of historical materials, and money for the support of the many activities of the Association. By careful efforts in the past the Association has been able to collect from its own members an endowment fund of fifty thousand dollars, and efforts are being made to raise a like sum in the present appeal from the same source. It is felt that such a contribution by persons who are in general men of small means will represent a considerable amount of sacrifice. For the remainder of the fund needed the appeal is to the general public. Of the many millions given yearly by the American people in the promotion of various forms of effort for the benefit of society, the Association makes its plea for a modest portion.

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PUBLIC WELFARE AND SOCIAL WORK

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

SOME RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE PROFESSIONAL SOCIAL WORKER

BRADLEY BUELL

WHEN the National Conference of Social Work meets in Cleveland this spring, ten years will have passed since Dr. Abraham Flexner propounded at the Baltimore Conference—his famous question "Is Social Work a Profession?" It has been a decade marked by rapidity of expansion—by outstanding inventions in social work practice—by conflicting theories regarding the future course of its development. At first in the background, latterly coming to occupy a position of first importance, has been Dr. Flexner's query, not only as a question to be decided for its own sake—but equally for its relation to most of the other problems with which social work is confronted.

His own qualified denial of ten years ago, put Social Workers on the defensive, and until the last two or three years, most of the discussion of the professional characteristics of social work, has been an attempt to prove—within Dr. Flexner's own premise—that social work was indeed worthy of professional status; that it did have "a communicable technique," and those other characteristics which he laid down as essential to any professional group.

Gradually, however, there has come about a change in interest and activity. While respect for Dr. Flexner's pro-

fessional standards has not diminished—the academic controversy is giving way to a positive acceptance of responsibility for focusing the development of social work along those lines which a regard for professional calibre demands. The successful establishment of the American Association of Social Workers as a professional organization—a new division of the National Conference of Social Work on Professional Standards and Education—the rapid increase in the number of professional Training Schools are but surface indications of a definite change in point of view among the social workers of the country. Professional status has become less a subject for debate and more a responsibility for action. Any citation of the particular problems to which this newer point of view must be directed necessarily invites amendment. But that in any consideration of present day social work—the following at least are of outstanding importance—few will, I suspect, deny.

RELATIONSHIP TO SOCIAL SCIENCE

Every one of the major professions has its roots in certain of the abstract sciences, Medicine in Biology, Zoology, Anatomy; Engineering in Physics and Chemistry. From these sciences comes the knowledge about the materials and forces with which the practitioner is working. Without

them his technique might be entirely misapplied. Indeed discoveries in these fundamental sciences periodically revolutionize practice in the fields to which they contribute.

Already Sociology and the other Social Sciences have to their credit numerous achievements and their indirect contributions to practical social work have been many—not the least of which is the gradual insistence that the social worker himself be imbued with the scientific spirit. Not the coldness of indifference, for the true scientific spirit is anything but that, but the constant willingness to face facts as they are, to maintain a critical attitude towards the problem with which he is working, to proceed always from the known to the unknown without prejudice or preconception. It is an essential professional characteristic and in so far as social workers do accept it, social science can claim the credit.

But there is a further responsibility for practical relationship. While abstract science and its professional application, must always be distinct, yet they are halves of the same whole. Social Science must come to social work for much of the material which it is to study, Social Work to Social Science for its findings. One of the most hopeful signs in the whole field of social work is the increasing contact that there is between these two groups—Social Scientists are coming to the National Conference of Social Work, and Social Workers going to the meetings of the American Sociological Society. Such journals as the *American Journal of Sociology* and the *JOURNAL OF SOCIAL FORCES* are making intelligent efforts to draw upon the practitioner in social work as well as the academic group for their contributions. The progressive professor of sociology today is doing everything he can to develop a vital contact both for

himself and for his students with the practical work of his city.

RESEARCH

With the acceptance of scientific approach to social work is coming—and should come—an increasing use of the research method.

It may be a general survey of social conditions, housing, recreation, families and the like, preliminary to the formation of a practical program. It may be—and this kind of research is rapidly increasing at the moment—with the intent of evaluating present work in terms of standards which are recognized; it may be an intensive study of methods with a view to their change and improvement, or a modification of the standards of evaluation which have previously been accepted. But the central point is that careful and scientific research should be an integral part of the professional approach to the task of social work, and as a matter of fact the amount of research being carried on by social agencies, for specific and particular purposes, is growing each year by leaps and bounds.

METHODOLOGY

Methodology, a skill in putting into practice the information and knowledge at his command, an ability to analyze, diagnose and treat the situation with which he is confronted and to translate this skill in such terms that it can be passed from one to another is a first essential of professional attainment. If social workers must be born and not made, Social Work is obviously not a profession.

Actually, of course, social work has a developing methodology. Case work gives us the best example of it—an analysis of processes and standardization of routine that goes far beyond anything

in the other fields of social work. But in group work, research, health work and other fields of social work, it is developing. Ways of doing things are being analyzed, experimentation in procedure carried on, the elements of skill discovered.

The methodology of social work is perhaps the biggest single item to which professional social workers must give attention. Dealing always with complicated situations, the means by which their complexities are unraveled, is not only extremely difficult of analysis, but equally difficult of generalization and standardization. But that it is possible has been demonstrated.

STANDARDS OF PERSONNEL

One of the first things which any group becoming professionally self-conscious must do is to set certain standards for itself, in terms of which its members can attain professional status. It was one of the first things to which the American Association of Social Workers—the professional organization in Social Work gave attention.

Actually, of course, even the standards of that Association depend almost entirely upon the interpretation put upon them. In general their stipulation is simply that a person to be a member of the Association must have a fair education and some experience in a social agency. None of the controversial questions about the fields of social work are answered, for example whether Y. W. C. A. work is social work, whether experience as a public health nurse is qualifying experience. Experience must have been in an agency of "recognized standing" and training in an "accredited Training School for Social Work," but neither of these general terms have been given definitions.

What actually happened of course was that the Association was confronted, as has been every other professional group, with the practical necessity of setting such standards as would enable it to include all, or nearly all, of the people in the field who looked upon themselves as professional social workers, relying on the gradual refinement in content of the general phrases to bring about the steady raising of personnel which is essential. It was a perfectly sound procedure, and a surprising number of people have been barred from membership in the Association, by even these extremely minor requirements.

But standards of personnel are obviously not simply a matter of the membership requirements of the professional Association. They go back to the efforts which each individual agency makes to improve its staff, to general recruiting policies, to the salaries which are paid, training available and the like. A minimum standard for professional recognition there must be, but to rest on that is not enough. In every field of social work there needs to be kept to the forefront the need for better people, better trained and better equipped.

TRAINING

Progress in training for social work has been in recent years, unquestioned. There are some twenty-three training schools listed as members of the American Association of Training Schools for Social Work. The value of their training is being increasingly recognized by agencies employing workers. The content of the instruction is steadily improving. The number of students being graduated grows annually, and to the development of that training the representatives of the professional group have made distinct contribution.

Yet there are pressing and perplexing

questions. Standards of Training in terms of both organization and curriculum are exceedingly various, the problem of securing satisfactory field work, has in only a very few instances been worked out successfully. Teaching material, even in the case work field is still meagre, in the other fields of social work it is almost non-existent. There is need also of a developing teaching personnel, who combine thorough academic background and teaching experience, with the professional training and practical experience of social work.

One of the most useful things which the American Medical Association has done, is to establish an approved list of medical schools, which meet with certain standards adopted by that organization. The Bar Association during the past several years has been making exhaustive studies of legal education, the recommendations of which have been the subject of extended controversy within that organization. These are indicative of the relationship which professional social work will and should have to its training schools. The kind of training provided must be dependent on careful analysis of the task, that analysis and the final judgment as to the effectiveness of the training provided by our schools, must in the long run come from the professional group itself.

STANDARDS OF WORK

In any consideration of the important problems with which professional social work is confronted, standards of work should occupy a correlative position with standards of personnel. For it is indeed peculiar to social work, that to a far greater degree than in any other profession it must measure itself. The client, in most fields of Social Work, is not in position to demand efficiency, for he does not pay for the service which is

rendered him. The donor who supports social work is not, as a rule, nor can he be, sufficiently informed about the results which either are or should be obtained, to pass an intelligent judgment.

The steady development of standards which will be recognized—of tests which will be of practical help in evaluating work, constitute an obligation upon social workers who are striving to attain professional status.

PROFESSIONAL ETHICS

Such an obligation implies the acceptance of ethical concepts by the professional group itself. Whether those concepts take the form of a detailed and specific code, or whether they express rather a spirit and point of view; the need of some formulation which will gain general acceptance from social workers is a real one.

Discussion of this need, indeed, has been common during the past few years, although it has as yet produced no definite results. Different chapters of the American Association of Social Workers have Committees discussing the question—and it has proved one of the most fruitful sources of Chapter activity. Within the case work group, there has been even more discussion, hinging mainly around the responsibilities of the case worker to her client. Miss Richmond at the National Conference of Social Workers in Washington conducted a round table discussion based on case material which she had collected.

While Social Work is too new to have a developed ethical code, the spirit of service which the pioneer social workers of a generation ago brought to it has had a profound influence on present-day thinking and it is from that point of departure that concrete ethical principles should spring.

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PROFESSIONAL ESPRIT DE CORPS

It is still not too unusual to hear an executive or a worker in some social agency announce with pride that he is not "a social worker," that his work is not "charity," and by virtue of some such intangible differentiation, try to set himself upon a higher pinnacle than those that surround him. Fortunately such expressions are heard with increasing rarity. For within that broad field whose inclusion in social work admits of little question, the person who endeavors to enhance his own position by casting reflection upon the rest of his profession, is defeating his own purpose—is making the task of his fellows just so much the harder.

Consciousness of, and pride in, professional kind, is one of the very finest things that comes with professional development. An esprit de corps is the essence of any successful group, a feeling of kinship with people who are doing the same thing, who talk the same language, are interested in the same objective. There is no greater loneliness than that of the isolated, and the pioneer social worker

who feels that he or she is battling alone, against odds that frequently seem overwhelming, with few who even understand her problems—to such, the development of professional esprit de corps with its emphasis upon the unity of task and interest, brings renewed inspiration, and the encouragement of that feeling of professional kinship is second to none amongst the present day responsibilities of the professional social worker.

Professional recognition for social workers will not merely come by going into the highways and byways, and saying, "Go to, now we are professional." It must be conditioned on a steady development of those characteristics which are implied in that term. It is this assumption of responsibility which is at the moment the most important thing. No one, least of all Social Workers themselves, should expect to see social work spring full-blown into the position which law and medicine occupy in the Community. But every one, particularly Social Workers, should see to it that they assume direction of those activities and policies which lead to that position.

A STUDY OF HOMICIDES IN SEATTLE, 1914 to 1924

CALVIN F. SCHMID

I. SOURCE AND COLLECTION OF DATA¹

THE data used in this study of homicides in King County, Washington, for the ten-year period, 1914 to 1923, inclusive, were taken from

the death records at the coroner's office. Needless to say, the task of collecting the material was fraught with much difficulty and labor. The paucity of the data along with their imperfections, inadequacies,

ington, see *Remington's Compiled Statutes of Washington* (1922), Vol. 1, Sec. 2390-2406.

In cases where the exact cause of death is doubtful, i.e., where the coroner's inquest shows certain deaths as homicidal or suicidal, or homicidal or accidental, I have considered them as purely homicidal.

¹ I have included under the term "homicide" the killing of a human being by a human being, exclusive of abortions, excusable homicides, and vehicular accidents and other deaths caused by culpable neglect. For the definition and classification of "homicide" according to the criminal code of the State of Wash-

and limitations are the inevitable obstacles one has to encounter in attempting a study of this kind. Thanks to the new system of death records established at the coroner's office a little over a decennium ago, we are enabled to get much valuable information concerning homicidal deaths that would, otherwise, either have remained obscure or unknown.

II. TERRITORIAL DISTRIBUTION OF HOMICIDES

The period covered in this study is that of 1914 to 1923, inclusive, or ten years. Of the total of 252 homicides for this period, 186 were males and 66 were females.

(a) *King County in general.* First, in order to understand the conditions under which the homicides were committed, it will be necessary to make a hasty survey of the outstanding characteristics of the region under consideration. King County, with an area of 2,111 square miles, and a population of 389,273, surpassing that of any county in the state, is situated in the west-central part of Washington. In its physical features it is characterized by a great diversity of topography, ranging from high mountains in the east to lofty plateaus and fertile valleys in the west. As a result of this topographical diversity there is a great variety of occupations and communities, with such distinctive features as agriculture, mining, logging, manufacturing, commerce, and recreation.

Table I compares statistics of population and the rates and ratios of homicidal offenses in the various civil divisions in King County for the decade, 1914 to 1923, inclusive.

A very noteworthy yet expected fact exhibited by the above table is that the overwhelming majority of homicides is concentrated in the densely populated area

of Seattle. It will be observed that there is a marked difference between the number of homicides and the rate per 100,000 of population in the above enumeration; although Seattle had 84 per cent of the

TABLE I
TERRITORIAL DISTRIBUTION OF HOMICIDES IN KING COUNTY, WASH., 1914 TO 1923, INCLUSIVE

MINOR CIVIL DIVISION (TOWN, CITY, OR PRECINCT)*	POPULATION (1920)	NUMBER OF HOMICIDES	RATE PER 100,000
King County (totals).....	389,273	252	6.5
Auburn.....	3,163	6	19.0
Bayne precinct.....	198	1	50.5
Black Diamond.....	1,711	2	11.7
Bryn Mawr (Black River precinct).....	505	1	17.3
Cedar River precinct.....	647	1	15.3
Cumberland precinct.....	580	1	17.3
Des Moines precinct.....	731	1	13.3
Duwamish precinct.....	860	1	11.6
Factoria (Newport precinct).....	107	1	93.5
Greenwood precinct.....	149	1	67.1
Haller Lake precinct.....	592	2	33.8
Issaquah.....	791	3	37.9
Kenmore (Bothell precinct No. 2).....	502	1	19.9
Kennydale precinct.....	646	1	15.3
Kent.....	2,282	2	8.8
Lake City precinct.....	326	2	61.4
Riverton precinct.....	1,035	1	9.6
Seattle.....	315,312	212	6.7
Skykomish (Martin Creek precinct).....	279	1	35.9
Spring Brook precinct.....	723	1	13.9
Sunnydale precinct.....	1,219	1	8.1
Unclassified (outside of Seattle).....		9	

* Since the Census Reports give the population only of incorporated places and precincts, it was found necessary to use the precinct population statistics for many of the unincorporated places.

homicidal crimes yet its rate of 6.7 is the lowest. It should be noted, however, that because of an extremely small population and the large base upon which the rate is computed, the results for some



CHART I

of the minor civil divisions may be somewhat illusory and exaggerated. Considering the county as a whole, with its population of 389,273 and 252 homicides for the ten-year period, we have 6.5 as the rate per 100,000 of population. Among the larger civil divisions which apparently had a clean record for this period are: Redmond precinct 1,172 population, Oak Lake precinct 1,459, Warren precinct 1,564, Enumclaw precinct 1,993, and Renton city 3,301.

(b) *Distribution of homicides in Seattle.* By referring to Chart 1, the exact location of the homicidal crimes can be seen. Perhaps the most outstanding fact evidenced by this map is that almost 25 per cent of the crimes are concentrated in a very small area, about four blocks wide and ten blocks long. This territory, as circumscribed above, can be divided roughly into two districts viz., the *upper* (east) and the *lower* (west). The *upper* part is characterized by a motley number of cheap hotels and rooming houses, old frame residences, many of which are now used as houses of prostitution, and a large variety of retail stores. This section also includes Seattle's "Chinatown," typified by its "joss" houses and commercial establishments. The permanent denizens of this district consist chiefly of foreigners, of which the majority are Japanese and Chinese. Many of the migratory workers and dispossessed transients of various types room in this section, but spend most of their time in the lower section.

The *lower* section still possesses the same stigma, and not without some reason, which it carried during the old "red-light days." In area it is comparatively small—about two blocks wide and about three blocks long. It is a community within a community, isolated and apart, for the conventionally proper never visit this

district save under exceptional circumstance, possibly for sight-seeing or changing of street cars. This section is characterized by its ubiquitous vampire establishments seemingly designed for the exploitation of the migrant worker, for it is he who is the chief habitué of these parts. Pool and card room, gambling dens,² cheap hotels with their quotas of courtesans, sex practitioners, dance halls, burlesque vaudeville shows, restaurants, employment offices, pawn shops, drug stores with their window displays of venereal disease nostrums and sex specifics, social welfare institutions, and missions of various denominations constitute the organizations, both for good and for bad, of this section.³

Directly northwest of the above designated section, extending in length for a distance of about fifteen blocks, and, in width, measured from the harbor line, about six blocks, is situated the important business district of Seattle. In this section, it will be observed there are approximately twenty homicides. To the north

² In a recent investigation of this entire area, including the *upper* and *lower* sections, by four fellow-students, approximately fifteen lottery establishments, operated in every case by Chinese, were found. These gambling "joints" are quasi-clandestine in character, and are arranged characteristically in the following fashion: A store-room facing the street, ostensibly a grocery or export establishment with a few shop-worn goods on the shelves, serves as an entrance; there is usually a man in front of the entrance who plays the double rôle of look-out and solicitor. From the store-room there is a dark alley or hallway leading into an artificially-lighted, dingy, poorly-ventilated, and, in consequence, very unsanitary room which is the gambling den proper. The equipment is very meager, consisting generally of a counter or desk, sometimes enclosed in a wire cage, and a few chairs. The living quarters of the proprietor and family are often next to the gambling room.

³ Cf. J. H. Geoghegan: *The Migratory Worker in Seattle*, Chapt. II; A Master's Thesis at the University of Washington.

and east of this section, varying in distance from ten to twenty squares, are the old residential districts in which are now located a large number of hotels, apartment houses, retail stores, garages, schools, and churches. The districts designated as Madrona, Capitol Hill, North Broadway, and Queen Anne contain the largest sections of the fashionable residential areas of the city. In the extreme west of this portion of the city, we have Fort Lawton, a government barracks, and Magnolia Bluff, a district comparatively new and not thickly settled. It should be noted that all along the waterfront there are docks, wharves, and warehouses of various kinds. To the north of the section just described is located Ballard, characteristically known as the home of the workingman; there are also several shingle and lumber mills within this area. East of this section are situated Phinney, Green Lake, Fremont, Wallingford, University, and Laurelhurst, which are predominantly residential in character, although along the shores of Lake Union are located a number of industrial plants, chiefly lumber mills.

Coming back to the central part whence we started and going southward along the waterway to the city limits, taking in practically all of South Seattle and Georgetown, then crossing to the west side and including all of Youngstown and Harbor Island, we have within this area the most important industrial establishments of Seattle. Beacon Hill, Mt. Baker, and part of Rainier Valley constitute the better residential sections in the southern part of Seattle. Most of Rainier Valley, Rainier Beach, Columbia, and South Park contain residential sections along with many truck gardens operated chiefly by Japanese and Italians. West Seattle and Fauntleroy, which include many recently settled areas, are exclusively residential.

In conclusion, we may summarize the salient points in this discussion concerning the territorial distribution of homicides in the city of Seattle as follows: First, about 25 per cent of the homicides were concentrated in a district less than ten blocks long and four blocks wide; with a population of 6,863 people, of whom less than 20 per cent are females, precincts Nos. 214, 215, 216, and 217, which constitute the large part of this district had 40 homicidal crimes, or relative to 100,000 of population, 58.0. Secondly, there is a fairly large percentage, about 20 in number in the business district. Thirdly, computing the homicide rate of the residential sections north of Lake Union and the Lake Washington Canal with a population of 81,800 people, of whom over 50 per cent are females, and 12 homicidal deaths during the decennium, 1914 to 1923, inclusive, we have the very low figure of 1.5 per 100,000 of population.⁴ Fourthly, in the industrial and residential sections in the southern part of Seattle there are about 52 homicides, which may well be considered disproportionate.

III. YEARLY AND RACIAL DISTRIBUTION OF HOMICIDES

The following tables along with Chart 2, are summaries of the facts which I wish to present under the third sectional heading.⁵

It will be seen that the yearly number of homicides occurring during this period shows a marked variability—a minimum

⁴ In view of the fact that the age and sex composition of the two sections are totally different, the crude rates are not at all comparable. Since adequate statistics of population are not available, we are compelled to forego the computation of specific rates.

⁵ It should be carefully noted that the following analyses are for homicidal victims.

of seventeen in 1918 and a maximum of thirty-five in 1915. To attribute this variation to any specific cause or causes would, I believe, be unwarranted. The average annual number of homicidal crimes is 25.2, or a rate of 6.5 per 100,000 of population. Table III presents for this same decennial period the homicide death rate according to races.

A most noteworthy fact exhibited by Table III is the excessive homicide death rate of the Oriental and Negro elements.

TABLE II
YEARLY DISTRIBUTION OF HOMICIDES IN KING COUNTY,
WASH., WITH WHICH IS COMBINED THE
RACIAL DISTRIBUTION

YEAR	WHITE		ORIENTAL		NEGRO		TOTAL NUMBER— ALL RACES
	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent	
Total	194	77.0*	43	17.0*	15	6.0*	252
1914	28	90.3	2	6.5	1	3.2	31
1915	30	85.7	3	8.6	2	5.7	35
1916	20	91.0	2	9.0	0	0.0	22
1917	23	74.0	7	23.0	1	3.0	31
1918	11	64.7	5	29.4	1	5.9	17
1919	29	87.0	2	6.5	2	6.5	33
1920	19	82.6	3	13.0	1	4.4	23
1921	13	65.0	4	20.0	3	15.0	20
1922	13	59.1	8	36.4	1	4.5	22
1923	8	44.4	7	38.9	3	16.7	18

* Average per cent.

The greater homicidal frequency, relative to the general population, of these races can possibly be explained on the following grounds: First, the environmental conditions, most notably of the Chinese and Japanese, and in some instances of the Negroes, are more conducive to crime than those of the average population. A great number of the Orientals in Seattle live under bad conditions in the "worst" part of the city, and often pursue such occupations as keepers of cheap hotels and lodging houses, pawn-shops, second-

hand stores, gambling dens and the like. Secondly, the Negroes and Orientals consist of a large percentage of unmarried adult males;⁶ in such a group we find not only a high homicidal death rate, but also a high rate of criminality.⁷ Thirdly, tong wars, exclusively among the Chinese, have claimed several of the homicidal victims. Fourthly, due to the comparative smallness of population, the homicide rate as noted above tends to give a somewhat exaggerated view of the actual number of homicidal deaths both among the Negroes and Orientals.

TABLE III
HOMICIDE DEATH RATE BY RACES

RACE	POPULATION (1920)	YEARLY NUMBER OF HOMICIDES	DEATH RATE PER 100,000
Total.....	389,273	25.2	6.5
White.....	372,901	19.4	5.2
Chinese and Japanese.....	12,314	4.4	35.0
Negro.....	3,109	1.5	48.3
Indian.....	403	0.0	0.0
All other.....	546	0.0	0.0

IV. SEASONAL DISTRIBUTION OF HOMICIDES

One of the most significant facts shown by the study of homicidal crimes in King County is the exact antithesis of the commonly stated generalization that crimes against the person almost invariably reach their ascendancy during the warmer months of the year.⁸ As graphically depicted by Chart 3 it will be seen that the smallest number of homicides occurred

* This is clearly shown by populational statistics for Seattle. Statistics of age and sex composition by counties are not available for 1920.

⁷ See below, Sec. v. Also, Maurice Parmelee: *Criminology* (1923), pp. 237-240.

⁸ Richmond Mayo-Smith: *Statistics and Sociology* (1910), pp. 271-272; John Lewis Gillin: *Criminology and Penology* (1926), pp. 83-84.

during months of June and July, while the largest number occurred during the months of December and January.

minimum 39.9. Secondly, the great influx of seasonal and migratory workers into Seattle from October until May,

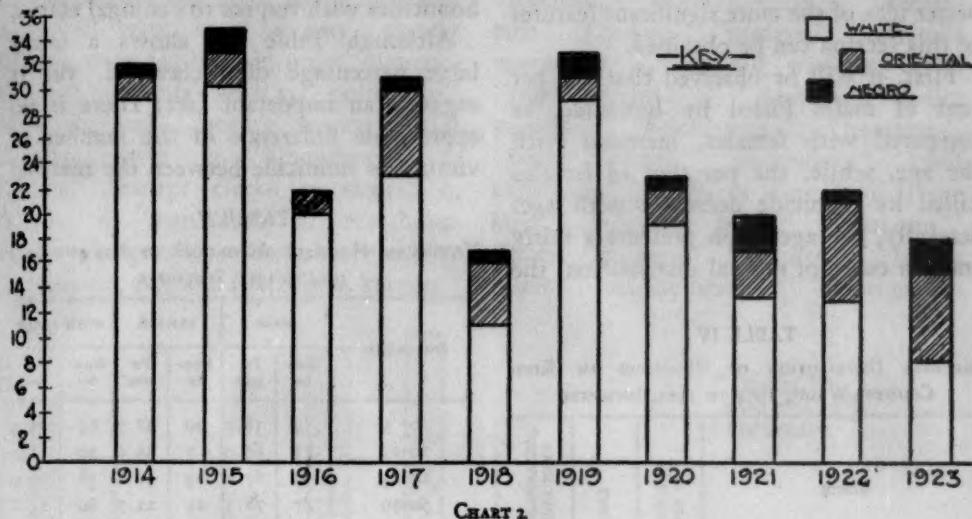


CHART 2.

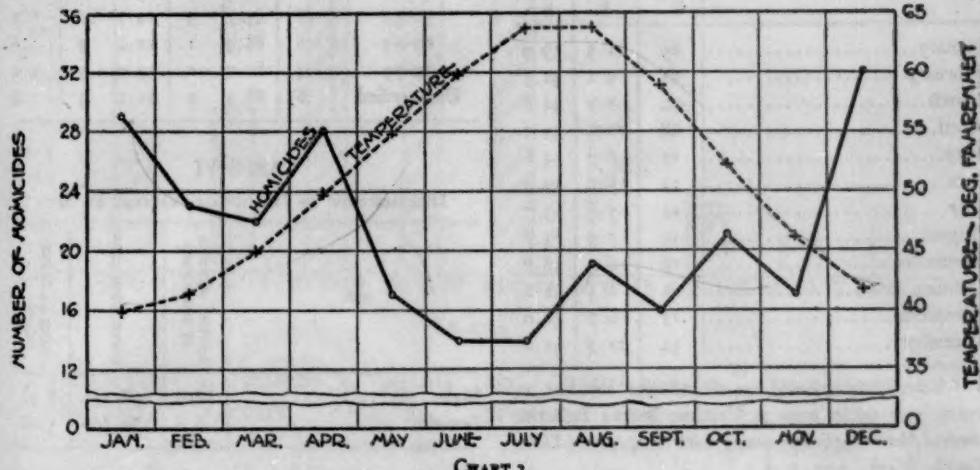


CHART 3.

Weather conditions may be an important factor in determining the extent and kind of crime, i.e., crimes against the person or property, but there are other more potent factors in this area that explain the apparent discrepancies. First, by reference to Table IV, it will be seen that the temperature is comparatively low and equable—a difference of less than 24 degrees between the maximum 63.7 and

with consequent widespread unemployment, produces conditions prolific of crime.⁹

⁹ The large amount of unemployment during the winter as compared to the summer is clearly shown by the records of various welfare agencies dealing with homeless men. During the summer months most of the agencies entirely discontinue relief work, while during the winter months a single agency may take care of as many as 150 men per day.

V. DISTRIBUTION OF HOMICIDAL VICTIMS BY
AGE AND SEX

By consulting Chart 4 and Table V a better idea of the more significant features of this section can be obtained.

First, it will be observed that the per cent of males killed by homicide, as compared with females, increases with the age, while, the per cent of females killed by homicide decreases with age. Secondly, the age-graph presents a fairly smooth curve of normal distribution, the

TABLE IV
SEASONAL DISTRIBUTION OF HOMICIDES IN KING
COUNTY, WASH., 1914 TO 1923, INCLUSIVE

MONTH	NUMBER OF HOMICIDES	PER CENT	MONTHLY MEAN TEMPERATURE*	MALE		FEMALE		BOTH SEXES	
				Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
January.....	29	11.5	39.9	14	58.3	10	41.7	24	9.5
February.....	23	9.2	41.5	13	65.0	7	35.0	20	8.0
March.....	22	8.7	44.8	39	67.2	19	32.8	58	23.0
April.....	28	11.1	49.5	47	78.3	13	21.7	60	23.8
May.....	17	6.7	54.6	37	80.4	9	19.6	46	18.3
June.....	14	5.6	59.5	18	85.7	3	14.3	21	8.3
July.....	14	5.6	63.7	8	88.9	1	11.1	9	3.6
August.....	19	7.5	63.7	4	80.0	1	20.0	5	1.9
September.....	16	6.4	58.7	Unclassified	88.9	1	11.1	9	3.6
October.....	21	8.3	52.1						
November.....	17	6.7	46.0						
December.....	32	12.7	41.8						

* Temperature, based on records for the last 33 years, was taken from a Weather Bureau Bulletin: *Annual Meteorological Summary with Comparative Data, Seattle, Wash., 1923*, p. 2.

peak being between the ages of thirty and forty years. Thirdly, the homicidal frequency among the males far exceeds that among the females. Comparative statistics of population by sex derived from the United States Census of 1920, together with comparable figures of the homicides according to sex distribution are shown in Table VI.

VI. CONJUGAL CONDITION OF HOMICIDAL VICTIMS

Table VII indicates the distribution of homicides with respect to conjugal status.

Although Table VII shows a fairly large percentage of unclassified, yet it suggests an important fact: There is no appreciable difference in the number of victims of homicide between the married

TABLE V
VICTIMS OF HOMICIDE ACCORDING TO AGE AND SEX,
1914 TO 1923, INCLUSIVE

AGE GROUP	MALE		FEMALE		BOTH SEXES	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
0-9	14	58.3	10	41.7	24	9.5
10-19	13	65.0	7	35.0	20	8.0
20-29	39	67.2	19	32.8	58	23.0
30-39	47	78.3	13	21.7	60	23.8
40-49	37	80.4	9	19.6	46	18.3
50-59	18	85.7	3	14.3	21	8.3
60-69	8	88.9	1	11.1	9	3.6
70-79	4	80.0	1	20.0	5	1.9
Unclassified	8	88.9	1	11.1	9	3.6

TABLE VI
DISTRIBUTION OF HOMICIDAL VICTIMS BY SEX

SEX	ANNUAL NUMBER OF HOMICIDES	POPULATION (1920)	DEATH RATE PER 100,000	
			Male	Female
Male.....	18.6	208,773	8.93	
Female.....	6.6	180,500	3.66	

and unmarried. Because of lack of adequate statistics further analysis is impossible.¹⁰

VII. OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF HOMICIDAL VICTIMS

I wish to present under this heading the occupations of those killed by homicide

¹⁰ Statistics of marital condition by counties are not available for 1920.

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in King County during the ten-year period, 1914 to 1923, inclusive.¹¹ "Housewives" heads the list with 33; "no occupations," which consists mostly of young children, is second with 25; "laborers" closely follows with 22; next in order, numerically, are "students" with 11; "policemen" with 10, and "cannery workers," all Chinese, with 9. "Chauffeurs" 7, "clerks" (except clerks in stores) 6, "cooks" 6, "merchants" 6, "watchmen and doorkeepers" 5, "longshoremen" 5, "restaurant, cafe and lunchroom keepers"

"checkers," "coal miners," "conductors and motormen," "brokers," "deputy sheriffs," "domestics," "engineers," "foremen," "hotel keepers," "laundrymen" (Chinese), "porters," "saw-mill operatives," "shipyard workers," and "truck drivers." "Barbers," "boiler makers," "bricklayers," "butchers," "butter cutters," "bartenders," "civil engineers," "clerks in store," "delivery boys," "elevator boys," "fishermen," "horse trainers," "joiners," "laundresses," "marine firemen," "photograph-

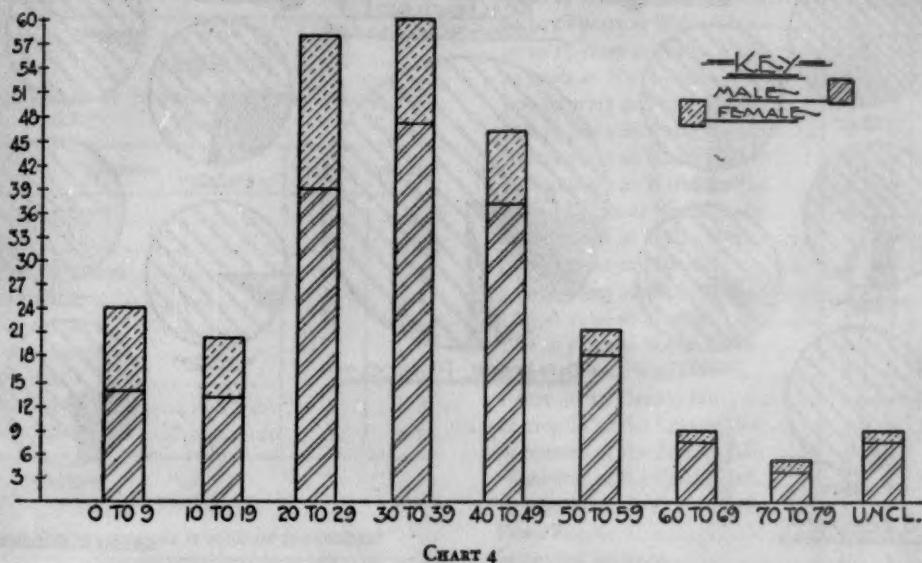


CHART 4

4, "housekeepers" 4, "seamen" 4, "agents and collectors," "farmers," "loggers," "ranchers," "painters," "boarding and lodging house keepers," and "waitresses" with each 3, are next in numerical importance. There are 2 homicides under each of the following occupational headings: "blacksmiths," "carpenters,"

¹¹ In the enumeration of occupations no special classification was used; the various headings were copied practically verbatim from the death records. It should be noted that the occupational classification in the United States Census Reports is for gainful occupations only.

ers," "paper hangers," "pool room proprietors," "real estate agents," "retired," "rope workers," "sign painters," "steel workers," "teamsters," "telephone operators," and "wood haulers" are each credited with one. Out of the total of 252 homicides, there are 16 unclassified.

VIII. HOMICIDES BY MANNER IN WHICH DEATH WAS EFFECTED

It will be observed that Chart 5 and Table VII, are a presentation of the essential data which I wish to discuss under the above sectional caption.

Perhaps the most striking fact exhibited by the above table and chart is that 191, of 75.8 per cent, of the 252 homicides during this decennial period, resulted from the use of firearms. Fracturing the skull, most often with an axe or hammer, claimed 26, and stabbing, 19 victims during this period. Strangulation, employed predominantly in infanticidal crimes, asphyxiation, poisoning, and drowning were the other means used.

In this table we find exhibited, above everything else, the excessive criminality of our country. In the quinquennial period, 1914 to 1918, inclusive, the number of homicides for the whole of England and Wales together, with a population of practically 38,000,000 people, was 253 less than the city of Chicago. Scotland, with a population of over sixteen times that of Seattle, had during the quadrennium, 1914 to 1917, inclusive, 178

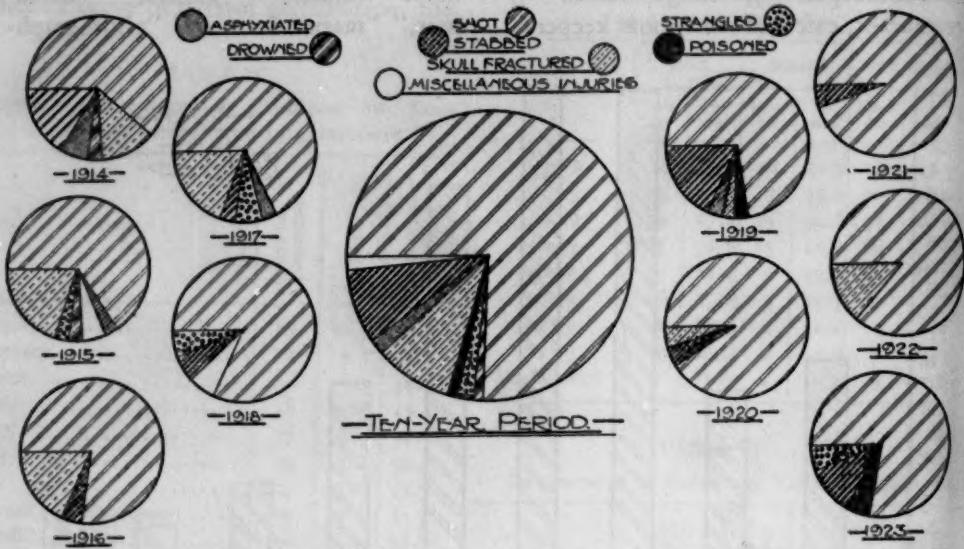


CHART 5.

CHART 5

IX. COMPARATIVE STATISTICS

Due to the multiplicity of systems of keeping criminal records, along with the deficiencies and incompatibilities of the data, it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to secure even rough comparison of crime for any length of time. Probably the most suitable statistics for our inquiry which I have been able to obtain are those presented in Fosdick's *American Police Systems*. By combining the Seattle statistics with those taken from Fosdick, we have the fairly homogeneous statements in Table IX.

homicides, while Seattle, during this same period had 95 homicides. With a population of 23 times that of Seattle, London had, during the five-year period, 1914 to 1918, inclusive, less than twice the number of homicides. During this same five-year period, 1914 to 1918, inclusive, Glasgow had 72 homicides; Seattle with a population one-third that of Glasgow exceeded in the number of homicidal crimes by 36. Liverpool has a population of about 803,000, or relative to that of Seattle, 2½ times as great; comparing the number of homicides for

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the quinquennial period, 1914 to 1918, inclusive, we have: Liverpool 38, Seattle 108. Summing up the statistics by com-

puting the homicide rate per 100,000 of population for the five-year period for

TABLE X

DISPOSITION OF FIRST AND SECOND DEGREE MURDER
CASES, KING COUNTY, WASHINGTON,
1914 TO 1923, INCLUSIVE

STATUS	NUMBER	PER CENT
Total.....	252	100.0
Married.....	111	44.0
Unmarried.....	105	41.2
Widowed.....	9	3.6
Divorced.....	4	1.6
Unclassified.....	23	9.1

MANNER	NUMBER	PER CENT
Total.....	252	100.0
Shot.....	191	75.8
Skull fractured.....	26	10.3
Stabbed.....	19	7.5
Strangled.....	5	2.0
Asphyxiated.....	4	1.6
Drowned.....	2	0.8
Poisoned.....	2	0.8
Miscellaneous.....	3	1.2

TABLE IX COMPARATIVE STATISTICS OF HOMICIDES*					
	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918
England and Wales.....	220	226	196	180	154
Scotland.....	39	57	53	29	†
London.....	46	45	31	39	37
Liverpool.....	8	8	8	9	5
Glasgow.....	11	23	18	11	9
New York.....	244	234	186	136	22.1
Chicago.....	216	198	255	253	22.2
Detroit.....	†	†	62	94	42
Washington, D. C.	26	25	24	24	27
Seattle.....	25	29	19	22	13

* Exclusive of abortions, infanticides, and vehicular accidents and other criminal negligence cases.

All the statistical data used in this section, excluding those of Seattle, were taken from Raymond B. Fosdick: *American Police Systems*, pp. 13-14.

† Figures not available.

DISPOSITION	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
Total.....	81	15	96
To be hanged.....	2	0	2
Life imprisonment.....	18	0	18
20 to 25 years at Walla Walla*.....	1	0	1
10 to 25 years at Walla Walla.....	2	0	2
10 to 20 years at Walla Walla.....	6	1	7
10 to 15 years at Walla Walla.....	1	0	1
10 years at Walla Walla.....	2	0	2
5 to 20 years at Walla Walla.....	3	0	3
5 to 15 years at Walla Walla.....	1	0	1
5 to 10 years at Walla Walla.....	1	0	1
3 to 20 years at Walla Walla.....	1	0	1
2½ to 20 years at Walla Walla.....	1	1	2
2 to 20 years at Walla Walla.....	1	0	1
2 to 20 years at Monroe†.....	2	0	2
1 to 20 years at Walla Walla.....	7	0	7
1 to 20 years at Monroe.....	3	0	3
1 to 10 years at Walla Walla.....	0	1	1
1 to 5 years at Walla Walla.....	1	0	1
1 year at the County Jail.....	1	1	3
10 months at the County Jail.....	1	0	1
8 months at the County Jail.....	1	0	1
6 months at the County Jail.....	3	0	3
4 months at the County Jail.....	1	0	1
Fined \$1,000.....	0	1	1
Suspended Sentence.....	0	1	1
Dismissed.....	2	0	3
Not Guilty‡.....	18	9	27

* Walla Walla indicates the state penitentiary at Walla Walla.

† Monroe indicates the state reformatory at Monroe.

‡ At least two of those found "not guilty" on the grounds of mental irresponsibility were committed to institutions. One, a male, was sent to the insane asylum at Sedro Wooley, the other, a female, was committed to the insane ward at the state penitentiary.

the countries and cities surveyed: England and Wales 0.5, Scotland 0.9,¹² London

¹² Death rate based upon statistics for the quadrennium, 1914 to 1917, inclusive.

0.5, Liverpool 0.9, Glasgow 1.4, and Seattle 6.5.

By making computations of the homicide death rate of the American cities enumerated in Table IX, we have the following comparable figures, based on the triennial period, 1916 to 1918, inclusive, which are a suggestive index of the homicidal tendency in our larger cities: Chicago 9.6, Detroit 7.9, Washington, D. C. 6.2, Seattle 6.1,¹³ Philadelphia 5.4, and New York 4.0.

APPENDIX

Disposition of first and second degree murder cases adjudicated by the Superior Court of King County, Washington, during the decennium, 1914 to 1923, inclusive. Ancillary, and, in some respects, adventitious to the main study of homicides, is appended herewith, a study of the first and second degree murder cases adjudicated by the Superior Court of King County for the decennial period, 1914 to 1923, inclusive. The material presented below, which was copied from the criminal dockets at the prosecuting attorney's office, necessarily possesses certain limitations and imperfections, and, in consequence, this cursory study makes no pretense to correlate the homicides committed and the cases tried during the period under consideration, nor does it warrant the reading of finer details into the data herein presented. This inquiry

¹³ The homicide rate per 100,000 of population of Seattle for the decennium, 1914 to 1923, inclusive, is 6.7. See above, Sec. II.

is merely suggestive. It will be observed that Table X is a presentation of the statistical facts which I shall deal with in this appendix.

By reference to Table X, perhaps the first thing to strike the attention is the large percentage of women found not guilty, and the relatively light penalties received by the remainder. Of the fifteen women tried for first and second degree murder, three were sentenced to the state penitentiary at Walla Walla for the following terms respectively: 10 to 20 years, 2 to 20 years, and 1 to 10 years; of the remaining 12, one was given a sentence for one year at the county jail, one was fined \$1,000, one had her sentence suspended, and the rest, nine in number, were found not guilty! Whether these verdicts and sentences exemplify "leniency" or "justice," one cannot definitely assert.

Of the eighty-one men tried for first and second degree murder during this ten-year period, 1914 to 1923, inclusive, 18 or 22.2 per cent were found not guilty; 2 had their cases dismissed, 8 had to serve terms in the county jail varying in length from four months to one year, five were sentenced to the state reformatory, three of which for one to twenty years, and the remaining two for two to twenty years; 28 were sent to the state penitentiary for periods varying from one to twenty-five years, 18 were given life imprisonment, and 2 were hanged.¹⁴

¹⁴ Capital punishment in the state of Washington was abolished in 1913 and restored in 1920. The two hangings occurred in 1921.

GUIDES TO PERIODICAL READING

GEORGE B. LOGAN

One of the hardest jobs in the world, with which happily few of us are burdened, is giving away a fortune wisely. B. Franklin, paragon of thrift and foresightedness, bequeathed a loan fund for needy apprentices without suspecting that the species might some day be extinct; and the other day Milton S. Hershey left a large sum to endow an orphan asylum, an institution which may soon be abandoned in favor of pensions, allowances, and care in private homes. Similar cases are not infrequent, as James C. Young shows in *Current History* for March. In this country more than two billion dollars have been given for endowments within the past fifteen years, and "The Dead Hand of Philanthropy" may lie heavily if the intentions of many donors should become impossible to carry out.

Endowments, in fact, may easily become a menace instead of a benefit, a tribute to indolence and fear instead of an encouragement to right effort. Hanford Henderson thinks that in education and philanthropy they are merely permanent advance payments for services not yet rendered, which often destroy all spontaneity of action and the virtue of self-support. "Millions for equipment but not one cent for endowment," is his battle cry in the March *North American Review*. He suggests that these funds might profitably be directed to decentralizing education by the creation of small provincial colleges, contributing more generously to research work at the universities, supplying model industrial plants in which students can earn their way, and promoting community recreation and art. So should we transform sluggish vested interests into channels of new opportunity.

"Education for Adults" is a plant of rank growth. In correspondence schools, public evening schools, university extension, Y. M. C. A. courses, workers' classes, and attendance at libraries and museums are several million people supplementing regular occupations with some sort of learning undertaken on their own initiative. But the movement, as Frederick P. Keppel points out in the April *Yale Review*, has gone on without the best guidance or control, and is almost wholly mercenary and vocational in outlook. There is little consecutive study of a subject for its own sake, such as England has developed, and Denmark in her folk schools. We should have better adaptation of university teaching to outside classes, welcome for the "special student" within the walls, and the use of scientific measurements, self-imposed if necessary, to determine fitness for further education. . . . In the *Survey* for February 15 six men and women, including Amy Hewes, E. C. Lindeman, and William Orton address themselves to the difficult task of defining the aims and describing the methods of adult education.

For the first time in history the ancient habits of bestowing ridicule or alms on the broken in body have given place to a nation-wide attempt to offer them a new chance. Rehabilitation is our ungainly word for it, and since 1920 the federal government and the states have been co-operating in bringing some of our 600,000 disabled civilians back to a normal wage-earning life. Oscar M. Sullivan describes in the March *Century* what has already been done and what may be looked for in the future if the work does not fall foul of the perennial conflict between federal

aid and states' rights. It is, at any rate, a splendid practical essay in helping our neighbors in need. "Luck for the Luckless" is the title of the article.

Economists, in dealing with production for exchange instead of for use, have neglected the problem of dependency and with it the social value of the family. Hence the new demand for family endowment, by which is meant any readjustment that would bring domestic resources once more into relation with domestic needs. This could be accomplished in three ways: by taxation distributed as money allowances or public services to the family; by large-scale pooling of industrial resources on the part of either employers or workmen; or by a wide extension of insurance. So, argues Mary Stocks in the January *Hibbert Journal*, the now disinherited women and children would be given an honorable place in the economic scheme.

"Recreation for Colored Citizens" is the theme of three papers in the March *Playground* which show how the recent migrations led to renewed concern over the Negro's welfare in cities both South and North. Greenville, South Carolina, has an enviable record in providing for and encouraging the play life of both races. . . . The *Southern Workman* for February contains a significant article on the attitude of the Negro church toward recreation, the facts for which were secured from a widely circulated questionnaire.

The first symposium ever printed on "Legal Aid Work" makes up the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* for March. Twenty-five men and women, almost all now active in securing justice in the courts for the poor or ignorant citizen, have contributed

to it. They discuss legal aid as applied to civil and criminal cases, social agencies and clinics which work to the same end, and the state-wide legal aid systems of Illinois, Connecticut, and Pennsylvania. The appendix offers practical suggestions for the foundation of legal aid organizations.

A church that runs a chain of second-hand stores and a kindling-wood shop, ministers to some 27,000 foreigners of every creed crowded into a few city blocks, and conducts a number of daily services with varying rituals is preaching the social gospel with a versatility rare even in these days. Such is the Morgan Memorial Church of Boston, the diversity of whose work is described by Carl Holliday in the January-February *American Review*. . . . In the sanitary code adopted recently at the seventh International Sanitary Conference in Havana we have a little-known but significant "Pan-American Treaty of Health." Its aims, as outlined by George Wheeler Hinman, are to prevent the introduction and spread of infectious disease, standardize the keeping of morbidity and mortality statistics, promote the interchange of public health information, and equalize regulations concerning disease at all American ports of entry.

Among recent pamphlets of the federal Children's Bureau is an outline of standards for physicians conducting conferences in child health centers, issued as Publication No. 154. Posture charts, age-height-weight tables, and sample blanks and forms are appended to the outline. . . . Publication No. 155 comprises an extensive study of child labor in a number of tobacco growing areas. Counties of Kentucky, South Carolina, Virginia, Connecticut, and Massachusetts are represented.

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THE COMMUNITY AND NEIGHBORHOOD

This department is conducted by THE NATIONAL COMMUNITY CENTER ASSOCIATION, and is edited by Leroy E. Bowman, 503 Kent Hall, Columbia University, New York City.

THE SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY OF MARY P. FOLLETT

ARTHUR EVANS WOOD

THE *New State*¹ and *Creative Experience*² make a bold synthesis of some of the newer tendencies in biology, psychology, and related social sciences, applying them to concrete problems of social and political reconstruction. The author threads her way amid an amazing variety of theory upon which she heavily draws and skillfully relates to her purpose. In spite of the particularists in the academic field, large-minded students of social life since the days of Comte, and even before, have held to the organic unity of the social sciences, though too seldom has there been any attempt to show the nature and implications of such unity. From Miss Follett's earlier writings³ one may surmise that her first interest lay in the field of political science, but these recent volumes carry us beyond to a more general analysis of social process, seeking therein solutions for the particular problems that beset us in politics. "The New State" is a convincing plea for a new political order based upon the neighborhood and other vital groups. *Creative Experience* sets forth a technique for achieving the ends of

democratic progress. They are not books for the traditionalist or the politician, even though such folk were prone to much reading; but to the open-minded student they provide stimulus and challenge. One commendatory feature of general nature is their closeness to reality. Not a priori assumptions but social experimentation is offered as evidence at every point. Experiences in case work, labor unionism, coöperative associations, industrial management, wage-adjustment boards, and in other fields are made to serve the author's purpose. One feels that at least here is living social reality, which is often conspicuous by its absence in more academic treatises. The style is uneven, sometimes painfully so, and the incidents used as illustration are often a bit too homely; yet central themes are reverted to with emphasis again and again, so that the total effect is forceful. The reader may not agree at all points, yet he cannot turn these volumes aside cavalierly except to reveal his own lack of penetration.

The New State has deservedly had much favorable attention, so that the present review will not presume more than to show some of its implications for theoretical and applied sociology. The author makes much of "the new psychology," by which she means no very definite system, but rather the prevailing tend-

¹ *The New State—Group Organization and Popular Government*. Longmans, Green and Co., New York 1923.

² *Creative Experience*, Longmans, Green and Co., New York, 1924.

³ *The Speaker of the House of Representatives*.

ency in psychology to break away from atomism, stressing the relatedness of things and the analysis of motives. One of the central concepts of the book is the *social group*, which is to be distinguished from the crowd or mob by virtue of the fact that in the former cohesion is attained through suggestion and imitation, but rather through the interpenetration of ideas that comes about through the give and take of rational discussion. From Emerson's dictum, "Men descend to meet" comes the cold, abortive Brahmanism that paralyzes the understanding of the cultivated classes as they face the raw facts of social conflict. That way lies madness and perhaps revolution. A true collective mind is arrived at only through the association of men in vital groups in which differences are harmonized through interpenetration—a favorite word with the author. Not like-mindedness, but difference is the native stuff of the social process. Difference is creative and not disruptive when social organization affords the means for the discovery of a harmonizing alternative. Not through pre-existing, but through achieved unity lies social progress. The sense of wholeness is like H. G. Wells' God in that it is to be created through painful experience made tolerable by sympathy. The greatest need is for the "will to will the common will."

Then follows interesting material on the relation of the individual to society which suggests Cooley's organic theory. True individuality is to be found through the enlargement of the social self through association. Nineteenth century individualism is mis-called; it should be termed particularism. True individualism arises from the interpenetration of whole with parts, and vice versa. The individual and society are both, as it were, center and circumference, mutually sustaining.

The phrase social organism is rejected, as it suggests that the parts have permanently fixed functions. Such a biological analogy would apply only to a caste society. In society conceived as a psychic organism, each part is potentially the whole. This sounds like mysticism, yet the author gives it valid meaning by concrete illustrations. Moreover, one gets the same idea in Professor Cooley's *Social Organization* when he writes,

The present epoch, then, brings with it a larger and, potentially at least, a higher and freer consciousness. In the individual aspect of life this means that each one of us has, as a rule, a wider grasp of situations, and is thus in a position to give a wider application to his intelligence, sympathy and conscience. In proportion as he does this he ceases to be a blind agent and becomes a rational member of the whole.

Because of this more conscious relation to the larger wholes—nations, institutions, tendencies—he takes a more vital and personal part in them. His self-feeling attaches itself, as its nature is, to the object of his free activity, and he tends to feel that "love of the maker for his work," that spiritual identification of the member with the whole, which is the ideal of organization.⁴

Professor Cooley is writing here of the enlarging of consciousness that comes from the increase of communication, but it can be readily seen that Miss Follett's vitalizing group can be regarded as a new agency of communication in our modern complex social organization.

The author next shows the group idea evolving in a variety of fields. In schools, prisons, and business; in the relations between capital and labor, in the Americanizing of immigrants, in city planning, and in the growth of the British Labor Party the author sees the development of a sense of *community* which is the key to progressive social living. Finally, in an interesting chapter on "Contract to Community" the author traces the course of

⁴ *Social Organization*, p. 116.

modern legal opinion from older particularistic notions to a growing sense of community in law.

But, one may ask, where in all this is to be found "The New State"? The answer is discovered in the subsequent sections of the book, entitled respectively, *The Traditional Democracy and Group Organization—Democracy's Method*. The author finds in older theories of the state an unwarranted dualism which sets the state and people over against one another. To her the state is simply the collective aspect of people, whereas individuals are the distributive aspect of the state. One feels here that there is not sufficient distinction between the concepts of state and society, unless, perhaps, the author intends to identify the two. Certainly her state more nearly approximates society than does the traditional idea of the state. In an ideally constructed state to obey it would be obeying oneself, for the state would then be the perfect expression of the completely integrated will of the people. In the future state, too, the constructive rather than the coercive functions of the state will find emphasis, and there will be a revaluation of mechanical ideas of equality, and of the atomistic theory of rights. Into the discard must also go blind faith in majority rule or "ballot-box democracy." The divine right of numbers gets us no farther than the divine right of kings, for majorities are subject to skillful manipulation by private interests. From this point of view minorities are no more sacred than majorities. To the author neither voting nor representation are of the essence of democracy, but rather the integration of wills through group association. The group man and not the crowd is the unit of democracy. Through the integration of men in groups and the subsequent integration of groups will arise that common

will essential to democratic progress. A Mazzini-like enthusiasm is displayed in the consideration of the possibilities that inhere in such a future democracy. Such enthusiasm would be amazing were not its objects set far in the future, for the author wastes no praise upon our present democratic achievements. Attempts to realize democracy more fully through what is called direct government fail, owing to the fact that it again, is based upon counting numbers, and that the machinery of direct government, notoriously the primary, comes under party control. There is no conserving the integrity of the individual, there is no recognition of his needs in politics, except through the strengthening and the formal incorporation in political structure of local groups through which alone he may find expression. Moreover, a different trend must be given to social legislation. It must no longer remain merely regulatory, but advance to the stage of constructiveness. No individual repression but expression is the true end of law. The community unit is the socialized individual. This is the new individualism. With firmly knit group organization it is compatible with highly centralized responsibility and the use of experts in government.

Until the closing section of the book, however, we are left somewhat in the dark as to the precise method of group organization. There we meet squarely the proposition that the crux of the system is to be found in neighborhood organization. The neighborhood workers in the humbler quarters of our American cities herein find themselves exalted as the pioneers of a social and political order yet to be. It is here perhaps, that the volume reaches its highest level and makes its most distinct contribution.

Five methods are proposed for the de-

velopment of a neighborhood consciousness necessary for the more effective functioning of the neighborhood unit, as follows:

1. Regular meetings of neighbors for the consideration of neighborhood and civic problems, not merely sporadic and occasional meetings for specific objects.

2. Genuine discussion at these regular meetings.

3. Learning together—through lectures, classes, clubs; sharing one another's experience through social intercourse; learning forms of community art expression; in short, leading an actual community life.

4. Taking more and more responsibility for the life of the neighborhood.

5. Establishing some regular connection between the neighborhood and city, state, and national governments.

These are the familiar aims of the Community Center of different types. There is something a bit startling in the suggestion that these centers, functioning in the above way, can become the substitutes for our out-worn political parties. But why not? Neighborhood and not party organization achieved that unity and coöperation necessary for the successful prosecution of the war. Why should it not continue to function in relation to political needs in time of peace? Neighborhood organization, according to the author, will make for a creative citizenship through the establishment of a real unity for party unity, through the development of genuine leaders, and through the putting of responsible government in place of irresponsible parties. If all this seems like words one has but to contrast the objectives of political parties with the real needs of the people. The chief aim of the party is to keep in power, whereas the striving of the people is for food, shelter, clothes, jobs, and the enlarge-

ment of cultural opportunities. At the most the party touches these things at a tangent. The writer recalls hearing an academic gentlemen discourse on the British Labor Party, in the course of his remarks complaining that a certain election turned on the question of housing! As if the workers, when they become articulate, should not advance those interests which lie nearest to them! It is the theory of Miss Follett that the neighborhood group, by virtue of its closeness to people, can become the best interpreter and means of expression of the common will. Only thus can be developed a true public opinion as distinguished from the crowd mind. Only in this way can leaders arise who will aim to express common needs rather than to command votes. One thinks of Governor "Al." Smith of New York, who as a boy lived an intense neighborhood life on the East Side of New York City. The confidence he inspires in many people arises no doubt in part from the support that he has given to measures that would safeguard and improve the standards of living of the poor. This may or may not be a good illustration of the truth at which Miss Follett is driving; but the principle she advances is unassailable, that the irreproachable political leaders of the future society will be developed and seasoned under the eyes of the people themselves, made rulers over much because of devoted service to their local groups. The neighborhood group enables us to overcome the traditional dualism between state and people, for it provides a way for people to become the state; and this is the goal of democracy.

In an interesting chapter on "Neighborhood to Nation" the outlines of a more completed scheme of group representation are given. Besides neighborhood groups the plan calls for more inclusive inter-

mediary or district groups. These could represent unions of neighborhoods, or could be occupational, or perhaps other kinds of groups. The upper body of the state legislature could be made up of experts, representing occupations. There is naturally a good deal that is tentative in the scheme. The principle is of a larger and larger integration of group with group through chosen representatives until one reaches the legislative halls, which, composed as they will be, necessarily will be in closest contact with the underlying groups. Thus will develop an intensive democracy, giving the individual political effectiveness by virtue of his participation in a small vital group through which "The New State" is to function. Useful precedents are found for the possibilities of such neighborhood organization in the Community Councils during the war, and in the neighborhood committees organized by the President of the Borough of Manhattan in New York City.

Remaining chapters of the book are given over to a critique of political pluralism which in various forms tends to do away with the unity and sovereignty of the state. The war and the growing strength of labor unions have led to serious questioning concerning the validity of the modern capitalistic state. Syndicalism, Guild Socialism, to say nothing of the more extreme movements of anarchism, regard the sovereignty of the present state as illegitimate. Hence, they favor its disintegration and look for a distributive sovereignty. There is just enough in Miss Follett's group philosophy to suggest a radical pluralism; but against this charge she makes an effective defense. It is the old question of the one and the many. The integrity of both parts and whole—or true federalism—is explained in psychological terms. By analogy it

arises like the unity and diversity of the mind itself through activity. Sovereignty is created whenever the parts coöperate for common purposes. It is not a static, legal thing, but is ever being created through fresh activity. "Sovereignty," says Miss Follett, "is power generated by a complete interdependence becoming conscious of itself." It is an attribute of coöperating wholes.

With the occupational pluralists the author finds fault inasmuch as they merely substitute the particularism of groups for that of individuals. Moreover, no one group can fully encompass or represent a man. The unit of the political structure must be the socialized individual made articulate through his group, or, rather, through many groups. True federalism makes no attempt to balance part against part, nor is it based upon a merely passive assent of the individual. It is based upon a progressive integration of wills sealed in common performance. The dogmatic pluralists knock Humpty Dumpty from the wall and never get him up again; but the exigencies of common social life require that he be set up as a symbol of the most inclusive social group. The true state neither is nor was; it is becoming. Its authority is that of living wholes. It is a fleeting ideal of unity. The idea may be expressed in Emerson's dictum, "The state is a fossil; it should be a plant." Except for the implications of a biological organism in this saying, it does embody the author's view of the state as a living, growing whole allegiance to which should enrich and strengthen all other loyalties. It is a view which could easily pass over into religious phraseology, but of this, happily for her purpose, the author stops short.

Nevertheless, with much that the pluralists stand for Miss Follett has sympathy. The present monistic state as a

power organization based upon class domination is justly discredited. The recognition of voluntary associations as the basis of political structure is in the line of progress. Service and not pecuniary power should become the means of prestige. Such views the author and the pluralists find in common. Her main criticism is that their anti-intellectualism stops short of its legitimate bounds. On pragmatic foundations the "New State" shall arise, justifying itself hourly by its closeness to and service for the common life.

Finally, through the coöperation of unifying states will arise the World State, compounding but not obliterating differences, seeking through conference to establish acceptable alternatives to conflict until the Will of humanity shall be realized. These are not the words of the author, but they express the logical outcome of the whole discussion.

As a whole the book is unique in that its contribution is to both social theory and practice. It should hearten those who are working for neighborhood organization like pioneers in our city wildernesses. It does not detract from the volume that the constitutional changes necessary for such a revolutionizing of politics are a long, long way ahead, even if possible at all. Only one major query arises in connection with the whole scheme; namely, Can neighborhood organization be relied upon to supply the basic units in political structure under the shifting and changing conditions of city life? One hears it questioned at meetings of the National Community Center Association whether there remains anything real of neighborhoods in our cities where renting and moving are among the major incidents of family life. Such unstable conditions are highly inimical to well-integrated group life. Perhaps with more

settled industrial conditions and a cessation of immigration our population may become less afoot. Even as things are a virile neighborhood center can do much to improve the morale of transient groups. It would be well if, as a supplement to the present volume, we could have a collection of group experiences with community centers, showing their successes and failures and the reasons therefor. Out of such analyses would emerge the evidence concerning the practicability of Miss Follett's attractive proposal.

"CREATIVE EXPERIENCE"

As we pass from *The New State* to the later volume, *Creative Experience*, we find some of the underlying theses of the earlier work reiterated and expanded. The central aim of *Creative Experience* is the discovery of a technique for overcoming conflict. Search for method leads the author to consider some of the more recent tendencies in psychology, biology, jurisprudence, and other fields. One gets the impression that here the material is amassed with not quite so sure a hand as in *The New State*, or, at least, that the drift of things is not always so clear. However, the major concepts are illuminating and suggestive, and they are, as in the former treatise, enriched with a wealth of concrete illustration. Nothing could be more fundamental than Miss Follett's main contention that social contacts should be rendered less destructive, and made to yield the fruits of progress.

The book opens with a very pertinent critique of the alleged objectivity of facts in social inquiry. The autocratic conception of the expert as one who discovers and reveals the unvarnished truth to the confident and expectant crowd must give way to a more democratic view of the process of social enlightenment. The

alienists at insanity trials would possibly be a *reductio ad absurdum* of the too prevalent view of expert service. The fact of the matter is that the truth which is the object of the expert is contributed to by the thought of those whom he would serve. The function of law as the guardian of truth is then inquired into. Again, we find that the law, like the wisdom of experts, is part of the social process itself, and therefore cannot be relied upon to give an entirely objective view of things. To be sure, the law is coming to regard social interests as paramount, yet the meaning of the term social is likely to be tinged with considerations of what people think are best for their own interests. For *individual* and *social* we had better substitute a *short* and *long* view of things. The law is at its best when it does not attempt a nice balancing of interests, but rather when it produces through judicial decision or specific legislation an integration of conflicting interests. Workmen's compensation laws are selected as a type solution that produces a harmonizing outcome for one phase of the industrial struggle.

We next meet with a psychological doctrine of value in social technique: it is that of Circular Response. Many psychologists in their treatment of behavior have come to regard the crux of the behavior process as inhering in neither subject nor object, but rather in the relation between them. In other words, it is always the "total situation" that is important for the understanding of behavior. Stimulus and response are in mutually functional relationship to one another. It is something more than an analogy to apply this doctrine to mutually affecting social phenomena, because here we have real people whose processes can always be interpreted in psychological terms. As applied to social processes

the meaning of Circular Response is summed up by the author in the following statements:

1. My response is not to a rigid static environment, but to a changing environment. 2. to an environment which is changing because of the activity between it and me. 3. function may be continuously modified by itself.

As applied to a concrete situation we have the following:

The workman responds to

1. Employer: wages, share in profits or management, conditions of factory, etc.
2. General conditions: cost of living, etc.
3. His own desires, aspirations, standards of living, etc.
4. The relation between his responding and the above.

Here we are asked to observe,

First, that the workman is responding to something in himself as well as to something outside; for instance, we have now to add to the factors which made the internal conditioning of the workman in 1914, the restlessness caused in many by the varied life and experiences (including even foreign travel) afforded by the war, the change in his desires caused by the lavish expenditure of war profits which he sees about him, etc. Secondly, he is responding to the relating between his responding and the environment. Finally, all the factors involved are varying factors and must be studied in their varying relations (p. 67).

A recognition of Miss Follett's contribution in the concept of circular response is found in Dr. William Healey's treatment of some of the more recent tendencies in the understanding and treatment of juvenile delinquency. He writes,

In the fourth place, if we observe our cases with an eye to the dynamics of the situation we are inexorably led a step further to witness the fact that the environment plays upon and modifies the individual and, what is usually not observed or set forth, the individual plays upon and modifies the environment. Then, as modified by each other, they act upon each other again, each reacting to the new situation. This is the conception, sound in science and in prac-

tical observation, of 'circular response'—a conception which has taken hold in the fields of biology, of social and political science, as well as in psychology.

The total or whole situation turns out thus for us to be a process. As Miss Follett says, it is always in the making. The situation is not static, is not a fixed affair that we can leave today and find a week later the same; it is changed, reinforced, weakened, by all that goes on in the inner and outer life of the person for us, the person who is the delinquent.⁸

Thus by virtue of the interlocking activity between individual and situation each is discovered to be creating itself anew; hence, relating themselves anew, and creating a continuously evolving situation.

This integrating psychology of experience finds confirmation from another source; namely, in the "Gestalt" concept of the German psychologists. Gestalt, we are told, is a doctrine of wholes. It is a revolt away from the atomistic or mechanical conception of the relation between stimulus and response. It views psychic experiences as constituted by structures which cannot be understood as merely sums of their component parts. Thus, it is denied that pure sensation is a fact in experience, inasmuch as perception always has a quality which is in addition to the sum of the single sensory excitations.

Carried further the principle of Gestalt throws interesting light upon the theory of personality. No mechanical summing up of separate "traits" can give us the human personality. This is revealed to us as a whole of interrelated, mutually functioning parts whose reality is constituted by the whole. From this point of view the treatment of separately functioning instincts by some of the economists has been decidedly fallacious. The elements of experience on any level are

not susceptible of isolation of their real meaning is to be conserved. This view has been long familiar to philosophers, but it has remained for the present work to show some of its concrete applications. Social workers and psychiatrists, without labelling the theory with a technical name, have employed it in the understanding of their cases. Circular response, integrating processes, functioning wholes, developing situations,—these are the laws of life on every plane. From another point of view they can be regarded as a further explication of the organic theory of some of our sociologists. They present us with an evolving world whose meaning will not yield to the formulas of tradition. That meaning is already possessed by those who have learned to interpret social phenomena in terms of "creative experience." It is conceivable that even statesmen have something to learn from it.

There follow a series of chapters in which the author still further aims to depart from formalism and conceptualism in the interpretation of social experience. The term "adjustment" appears inadequate to account for the social process inasmuch as it implies too much isolation of the parts to be newly related. Experience as a mere verifying or testing of phenomena in the light of preconceived notions is likewise assailed, for much the same reason that the autocratic theory of the expert was found to be rejected. Rigid classifications are also found to be ill-adapted to a moving social reality. Conceptual pictures of social situations based upon past experience are misleading. In short, we have in all this a radical empiricism which does not despair of discovering the truth, but insists throughout that it must be caught, as it were, on the run, and that our very effort of discovery is a factor altering the reality which we seek. The upshot of this for

⁸ *The Child, The Clinic and The Court, Jane Addams, et al., The New Republic.* New York, 1925, p. 41, 42.

the problem of conflict is that situations must be understood in their entirety, that is, in all their interrelatings, if they are to be dealt with constructively.

Subsequent chapters carry us further into the discussion of conflict. Here again a question of terminology is raised. Not *opposed* interests, but *confronting* interests are to be dealt with, if we are to maintain a hopeful outlook. In case of such confronting interests there are four possible outcomes: 1. Voluntary submission by one side. 2. Struggle and victory of one side over another. 3. Compromise. 4. Integration. From our previous discussion one might anticipate that the author's solution lies through integration. None of the others gives us stable or progressive results. Most serious conflicts are amenable to treatment through breaking up main contentions into their component issues, the kind of process that one learns in academic forensics. Expressed wants often conceal deeper desires which must be exposed. Through some such process of analysis we may hope to arrive at new values which emerge from the analytical procedure itself. This process of coöperative thinking is no soft doctrine; the way is long and arduous. On the other hand, that "fighting it out" offers any satisfactory short-cut is the tragic illusion of history. Nearly all conflict has to be talked out, even after it is fought out. As this is written news comes of the compact between the Allies and Germany at Locarno, the first sign, it may be, of a real integration of interests after eleven agonizing years. Trial and error must eventually lead us out of war even as it taught our primitive ancestors to distinguish edible plants. Miss Follett rightly declares that we need a large amount of investigation of the integrating process as applied in different forms of conflict. To establish it as a habitual

resource would be to create in fact a new civilization.

The authority and power of the new order would not be arbitrary, but would develop democratically within and by the coöperating groups. The will of the people is to be found not in formal consent but in coöperative activity. The United States was created more through the building of the National Pike than through the Constitution. One might add that the League of Nations is being established through common efforts in public health and other fields more than by the Covenant in the Treaty of Versailles. The collective will is conceived of as a function of situations, the result of integrating behavior. Democracy is created on the motor level, not through an out-worn intellectualism. This is irrefutable doctrine, a logical part of what has gone before in Miss Follett's system.

In a telling chapter on "A Participant Electorate" the discussion reverts to the means for achieving such a working democracy, and these are again discovered in vitalized local groups endowed with economic, political, and social functions. The wider integration of groups, as already set forth in "The New State" will produce on the part of the individual not a divided but an expanding allegiance. Progress is from part to whole, the latter conceived as an actively coöperating unit in a larger synthesis. From lower to higher levels activity conditions form which is characterized not by rigidity but by stability. With the development of more inclusive units, always in touch with the humblest individual, the aspirations of men will rise to meet the requirements of the larger allegiance. The statesman who perceives this will assist in welding "the generating centers of the community into coöperating creatings of new factual happenings and new awareness—the cease-

less progress of existence." Representatives in the new order will learn the art of true conference, they will be sensitive to drifts of opinion even before they are formulated, and will contribute to that interweaving of desires through which larger social values are to be created.

Remaining chapters recur to the constructive functions of law in the new social state. A truly sociological jurisprudence aims not at the maintenance of the *status quo*, or of "law and order," but rather at the making of conflict creative. Law itself needs integrating with social process. One might add that our law schools could begin the task by offering courses in "Defossilization," to diminish the crop of youthful traditionalists. Dynamic psychology and creative jurisprudence are under the same necessity, namely, of seeing things in relation, of abandoning barren conceptualism, and of discovering freedom through integrative behavior. Conflict is not pathological; it is normal human process. But with the socializing of our principles and institutions, conflict, conceived as the raw material for effort, may be made to yield the useful fruits of "Creative Experience."

One lays down these volumes with the feeling that their author has been wrestling with fundamental problems of the social order, drawing strength for her theses from many sources of constructive theory and practice. Against the charge that here is another kingdom of God on paper she is defended by increasing evidence from community experience. The necessity for revitalizing the sense of community as a basis for social and political reformation cannot be successfully challenged. Adult education and the community center are regarded by the British Institute for Adult Education as the bulwarks of England against dis-

ruptive violence.⁶ As for the feasibility of politically functioning neighborhoods, we need only recall that the ward system was almost universal in our cities until destroyed by centralization and the social changes due to immigration. But the old ward was not organized from below; it was managed from above by the bosses. That the community center might create an effective ward democracy is an entirely reasonable proposition.

The genius of Miss Follett's work lies in her effective synthesis of theory and practice. She combines a speculative mind with a social outlook and a knowledge of affairs. She sees politics as a matter of bread and jobs, and the development of collective sentiments. Her general trend is decidedly idealistic, yet she reveals a type of idealism that seems fully aware of the most stubborn facts. There is no exhortation in terms of vague principles, but rather a most painstaking analysis of means by which any principles worth holding may be had. The only assumptions are that some way must be found out of the chaos to which our machines and our out-worn shibboleths have brought us. In her emphasis on this point she finds herself in good company among those both here and abroad who have recognized her contribution.

One's closing reflection is that, valid as the method of "Creative Experience" seems to be, there are deep and enduring antagonisms which thus far have not seemed to yield much to processes of rationalization. Not integrative discussion but bloody war unhorsed the Hapsburgs, Hohenzollerns, and Romanoffs, and the outcome from their point of view could not be called constructive. The answer of Miss Follett would be, of

⁶ See, *The Way Out* and *The Guild House*, publication of the British Institute of Adult Education.

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course, that war and revolution are the extreme alternatives to the process of integration for which she pleads. True, but so long as there are social structures that will not integrate, disruption and violence are menacing possibilities. Or, again, there is tragic need for integration in the religious world, yet the Roman Catholics still send polite letters of refusal to attend world conferences on unity. Moreover, one finds the following from Professor Ross in the Introduction to his *Roads to Social Peace*,

From the types of inter-group conflict I consider in the following pages, the reader will miss one, namely, race conflict, which with us means conflict

between whites and negroes. This certainly has spilled more blood and roused more hellish passions than any other type of internal conflict; and the reader will wonder why I pass it by. My reason is that I do not know what is the "road to peace" for intermingled color races."

Such observations detract no whit from the validity of the methods proposed in *Creative Experience*: they only serve to emphasize more than does that volume the age long difficulties, the biologic as well as social obstacles to a larger degree of harmony. *Eppur si muove* our author may continue; and if we all agree to think in terms of long enough periods of time there is no further reply.

DEMOCRACY AND THE SETTLEMENT

WILLIAM E. McLENNAN

THE settlement is frequently criticized as being undemocratic, in that the people of its neighborhood are not given a fair opportunity to determine the form of organization and the policy of the institution, to share in the expense of upkeep and to have some part in the engaging and discharging of workers. One of the most sympathetic and intelligent of the critics is John Daniels, author of *America Via The Neighborhood*, one of the most satisfactory books bearing on the subject of Americanization—that awful word, to whose inventor, St. Peter should refuse admission to heaven on the ground of his being an "undesirable alien." It is Mr. Daniels' contention that, in order to provide the immigrants, and presumably all other residents of the settlement neighborhood, the fullest opportunity to Americanize themselves, the people must be given an opportunity to help to determine the form

of organization, and the policy of the institution, a responsible part in meeting expenses and some share in the joy of hiring and firing the workers.

THEORY VS. PRACTICAL MEANS AND METHODS

I do not want to be understood as opposing this program. On the contrary, I am for it whenever it can be shown that it is workable. And right here is where all the critics hesitate. They are eloquent in advocacy of the theory but very very silent when it comes to showing by what means and methods the theory can be realized. Take, for example, the question of expense. It is probable that nine out of ten settlements throughout the country are located in districts where, as a matter of course, the people—95 per cent of them, at any rate—receive very small wages, hardly enough to supply them with the so-called necessities of life, to say nothing of the pleasures. Jenkin Lloyd Jones

founded Lincoln House in Chicago among the well-to-do, holding that the rich needed settlements more than the poor. Mr. Jones may be right. At any rate, in his case, there was opportunity to appeal to the neighborhood for support, with some assurance that the people could provide the funds if they were willing to do so. That it is not possible in my neighborhood, no matter how willing our people might be to contribute. As a matter of fact, we do receive something from the neighborhood. Every one, old and young, who registers for a club or class pays a definitely fixed fee. These fees, in the course of the year, amount to a respectable sum—enough perhaps to pay the coal bill. I would not want to look for more than we receive, unless it came voluntarily, as it sometimes does, in the form of a gift for some special purpose. And I doubt if the financial situation will ever be much better in our neighborhood, for the simple reason that our housing situation is such that only those of small incomes will live there. Those who can afford better homes move out, their places being taken by the families which cannot afford to pay the rents in better neighborhoods. In view of this situation it is useless to talk of permitting the people to pay what would be on a pro rata basis, their share of the expense of the upkeep of the institution. They simply cannot rise to that standard, no matter how willing they may happen to be. If the settlement is to endure, it must continue to be supported, as it has been in the past, by those who believe in it and who believe that "service" and "brotherhood" are something more than names to conjure with.

DIFFICULTIES IN THE WAY OF DEMOCRATIC ORGANIZATION

Practically the same difficulties as those which have to do with the settlement

neighborhood meeting a definite amount of the settlement expense, inhere in the matter of giving the people a responsible share, on the basis of what we call democracy, in the government of the settlement. Assuming that suitable persons might be secured to serve on the board of direction, a puzzling question at once arises as to the method of election. Manifestly the people of the neighborhood as a whole, irrespective of age or attendance at the institution, would hardly be expected to vote on the selection of representatives on the board. Any limitation of the electorate however, would at once raise the question of expediency and also the question of what is democracy. But even if these questions might be settled in accordance with the general view, and representatives of the neighborhood were elected, they would find themselves, unless the neighborhood contributed at least half the funds, in the minority on the board. They would have the right to vote and to express themselves without having any power to control policy and methods. The whole matter bristles with practical difficulties which of course the theorist almost always ignores, or, if he cannot ignore, he depreciates and hands on to those who are forced to deal with them as best they may.

LITTLE DEMOCRACY IN AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS

But in saying that there are practical difficulties in the way of the democratic control and management of the settlement, by no means sets the settlement apart as unique in this respect. The institutions with which we are most familiar and which together represent so much of our individual and social life—the home, the school, the church and the state—have never succeeded in working out methods by which the wishes of the governed might be accurately registered.

Even if the wishes might be known, there is no assurance they would be always followed.

Take the home. In theory, at least, whatever may be said of actual practice, parents, one or both, are presumed to have the casting vote, whatever the children may elect to the contrary. Even if parents choose, as it is reported they do at the present time, to abdicate in favor of the children, the fact remains that the average home does not have, in form at any rate, democratic control. That there may be a democratic spirit in the home is true. The wise parent, if he is the recognized head of the home, or the wise child, in case authority is in his hands, will always consult the other members of the family on all important matters with a view to bring all to a common opinion, so that the family can act as a unit. But this by no means denies the fact of a single authority in the home.

Practically the same thing operates in the school where, up to the present time, there has been no serious claim that the pupils should be allowed to choose their teachers, the curriculum or the hours of instruction. How far certain theorists may carry the elective system it is impossible to say. The story is told of a patron of a certain college where the elective system had passed all previously known bounds, writing to the president to inquire if he proposed to make God elective. I know if these matters had been left to the pupils when I was a boy I would have chosen, as the principal text-books, certain stories of sanguinary adventure between Indians and whites which were then popular among boys—popular, I mean, when they might be perused without interruption by prosaic, not to say cruel, parents and teachers. Moreover, my vote would have been

cast for not above one day a week of school.

Practically all churches appeal, in one way or another, to their respective communities for financial support, on the ground of their contribution to the welfare of the community. But whether a particular church receives any financial help from its community or not, it has never been proposed, so far as I have ever heard, that the church should permit the people of the community to vote on the call of a pastor or on any other matter of equal concern to the church, much less that a non-member of the congregation should hold a responsible church office. For the guidance of the church in its work it must depend on its own officials elected by its own members to carry out policies determined by the members, not by the public which the church aims to serve.

Even in the case of the democratic state, so far as *forms* are concerned, democracy, in the sense of the rule by the whole people, has never been realized. It was not realized among the so-called democracies of Ancient Greece where the word itself was invented. Democracy comes from *demos*, which was first used to describe "not the whole people but the so-called middle class," as distinguished from the wealthy on the one hand and aliens and slaves on the other. Moreover, those entitled to vote in the Athenian Assembly represented a very small part of the total population. Not only were women and children excluded but also aliens and slaves. "The Aristotelian notion of democracy," we are told, "was not offended by the existence in the State of a numerous laboring class, servile or free, and of a large resident alien population which together outnumbered the political citizens ten to one."

THE LIMITED EXTENT OF DEMOCRACY IN GOVERNMENT, PAST AND PRESENT

Democracy, as the rule of the whole people, has never been realized in America, not even in the idealized New England Town Meeting, which was controlled not by the people but by those who were members in good standing of "some one of the churches of the settlements," and that meant not simply those born in a Puritan home but had made a distinct profession of faith, following "a searching examination in matters of doctrine and worship." It was that typical New Englander, John Winthrop, who said, "The best part is always the least, and of that best part, the wiser part is always the lesser."

The Declaration of Independence holds as one of the self-evident truths that governments derive "their just powers from the consent of the governed." Fortunately for us who defend it as an all but inspired document, that word "consent" has many meanings. It may mean "assent," "approval," "agreement," "acquiescence," "compliance," etc. There is a "consent" which represents active approval and there is a "consent" which means only an acquiescence due to indifference or possibly to the feeling that opposition would avail nothing. If the word "consent" was intended to mean approval, following a majority vote of the governed, then we have never had the consent of the governed with respect to the selection of those who have governed or to any act of our government, for up to the adoption of the Nineteenth Amendment, giving the franchise to women, those entitled to vote constituted but a small minority of the people of the United States. Not only children and aliens, United States soldiers and sailors, paupers, felons, delinquent tax-payers,

idiots, insane, Chinese and many others, but also millions of our youth, up to but not including the magical hour when they have reached their majority, have been denied the privilege of voting. Even in 1920 the total number of voters, both men and women, were only 54,421,831, being 51.5 per cent of the entire population. Of that 54,421,831 entitled to vote, only 26,865,379 or 49.3 per cent took advantage of their privilege to cast a ballot for a President of the United States. Mr. Harding was elected by a large majority of those voting, but at that he received but 29.7 per cent of the voting population and but 15.3 per cent of the governed of his country. If Mr. Harding had received *all* the votes cast in the 1920 election, he would have been short, or "shy" 345,537 votes of a majority of the potential votes of the country. Mr. Harding, however, did better than some of our worthy senators, for according to figures at my hand (which I have not verified), Senator Lodge, leader of the Senate, received only 22.3 per cent of the voting population of Massachusetts. Senator Johnson of California did a little better with 29.2 per cent. Senator Pepper of Pennsylvania was elected by 18.9 per cent. Senator Stephens had but 10 per cent of the voting population of Mississippi.

The votes cast at the last election represent a slight increase over 1920 in the proportion of actual to possible voters.

I am not seeking to prove that *democracy* is a failure—far from it—but to show that the difficulties *in the way of a practical organization of it*, so that all the people may register their votes with the assurance that those votes will not only be counted but also respected in the adoption and carrying out of policies, are well-nigh insurmountable. We can do something, we can do a part of the way, in the adop-

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tion and use of the machinery of democracy—the whole program we can never realize.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS DEVELOP MODES OF ASSOCIATED LIVING

But to say we cannot perfectly organize democracy or, if we could, that the machinery of organization cannot be operated, proves nothing against democracy itself—either as a doctrine or a spirit. It is the fundamental tenet of democracy that every one born into the world, however obscure his place or apparently insignificant his person, is a human being and as such has a distinct right—nay, that it is his duty—to develop his personality to the highest point of which it is capable. This being true society should see to it that, so far as we are able, every man has his chance for not only self-development but for self-expression also. This cannot be done merely by giving a man a vote. We shall never realize democracy until the doctrine of the brotherhood of man is brought down from the clouds of sentiment and idealistic fancy and made the working basis of life in all its phases. If we would but recognize every man and woman and child of every land and race as actually belonging to us—relations of ours—it would not matter so very much what our forms of government were or whether we had all the approved forms.

If this is a correct statement of the matter, it logically follows that the great business of life is to cultivate the spirit of good-will, what religion calls Love, without which democracy simply cannot function. "The safe-conduct of democratic society depends," says Ex-President Eliot, "on an unprecedented development of mutual good-will, manifested kindness and hearty coöperation"—a sentiment in

accord with John Dewey's phrase that "a democracy is more than a form of government; it is primarily a mode of associated living, of conjoint communicated experience."

This is what the settlement, the community center and other similar organizations are trying to do—to develop, through good-will, such as "conjoint communicated experience," that the neighborhood, from a congeries of unrelated if not warring individuals and groups, shall be transformed into a real fraternity which shall truly represent the spirit of the saying, "All for each and each for all."

In citing the obstacles in the way of organizing democracy, there is no purpose to discourage any effort looking to the training of individuals or groups in self-government. In our own institution, as well as in most settlement houses, the adult clubs are expected to choose their own leaders as well as to manage their own general affairs. Councils of the adult clubs have been highly successful in some institutions in looking after certain activities and in the matter of discipline, though it has been found necessary to have these objects clearly defined, in order to prevent misunderstanding. To permit such organizations to think they have more power than they really possess is not only bad ethics but very bad policy. But these and other means for developing democracy will go for little or nothing unless the responsible head of the institution or center himself embodies the spirit of true democracy, and is able so to interpret one group to another, the people of the neighborhood to the members of the governing board and the board to the people, that they will understand and truly appreciate each other, and come to realize that they have common aims and share a common life.

CHILD LABOR AND THE COMMUNITY

A NOTE ON NEW PROCEDURES FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH

E. C. LINDEMAN

THE purposes of social research, like that of all research which does not hide furtively behind the doubtful concept of "pure" science, is to solve problems. Even the graduate student who uses research primarily as a part of the mercenary price which he pays for a degree hopes that his labors may somehow count toward problem-solving. To solve a problem is to arrive at such knowledge as will permit control over its major factors. In this sense, astronomy has solved few problems since its knowledge of the behavior of cosmic factors does not lead directly to control; we may know when an eclipse of the sun is to occur but we cannot prevent its taking place. Physics and chemistry, on the other hand, have achieved extraordinary measures of control over materials. And this degree of control cannot be accounted for on the basis of greater quantitative accuracy: the mathematics and the measurement of the astronomer are, if anything, more refined and more complex.

Two conclusions emerge from the above considerations: (a) the instrumental effectiveness of a science is not directly dependent upon the accuracy of its measurements; (b) active control of the factors involved in a problem is proportionate to the manageability or tractability of the materials composing those factors. If these are warrantable conclusions, it follows that the social sciences must, if they aim at control, give considerable attention to the manageability or non-manageability of their materials. Hitherto, social scientists have attempted to imitate the quantitative methods of

the older physical sciences. Naturally these attempts were conducted under the assumption that the counting and observing needed to be done externally, i.e., with the observer standing outside of, extraneous to his materials. This, I repeat, was a natural assumption as long as social scientists labored under the belief that their method must be a replica of that used in physical science. It was also useful since it called forth an insistence upon objectivity which, though it did not arrive, served as a worthy idea.

A NEW APPROACH

Thus social research came to resemble the plot of penny-dreadfuls: the investigator was the spy, the detective whose duty it was to run down and hunt out the secrets of the social process. When they were all in, the indictment was published to the world in the fervent hope that the prosecutor—public opinion—would step in and remedy the revealed evils. And curiously enough, this method was occasionally successful. At any rate it sufficed to remedy certain social evils in a superficial sense. By this I mean that this procedure succeeded whenever it was possible to enlist coercive measures on behalf of its cures. This is, of course, superficial in the same sense that any coercive process is superficial.

We now have two generalized conclusions which point toward new procedures in social investigation: (a) social control depends upon the manageability of the factors of social research, and (b) social research can only lead to superficial problem-solving if its method continues to be external. These two conclusions

constitute the radiating center of a new rationale of social investigation; by corollary its two initial points of departure are: (a) social investigation will succeed as an aid to problem-solving in proportion to the manageability of the social units which it studies; this is not to infer that manageability of social units is directly proportionate to size although size is one of the elements; (b) the fundamental character of the solutions which emerge from social investigations will be proportionate to the degree in which the investigator recognizes the participant qualities of his observations. With these tentative conclusions in mind, we may now proceed to an illustration.

THE COMMUNITY AS THE UNIT

The National Child Labor Committee and all other groups interested in the problems of the employment of children have recently been obliged to admit defeat. They attempted to amend the Federal Constitution in such manner as to permit joint federal-state legislation prohibiting child labor. This is an illustration of the older type of coercive social practise. The nation as a whole is an unmanageable social unit and can be manipulated only by high-power propagandist methods. In the present instance, the opponents of the amendment were in possession of the instruments of propaganda, and they won. But it mattered little who won: in either case the method would necessarily have been one of coercion and not of valid consent. Many

critics of the Child Labor Committee's recent program now insist that it should in the future concentrate its attention upon individual states. My inclination is toward still smaller units, namely, local communities. I believe, that is, in experimenting with community-conscious units because it is in such groups that educational processes of a valid character may be set going.

Happily, an illustration is at hand. Mr. Charles E. Gibbons of the National Child Labor Committee has just completed a study of school attendance (which is the reverse or constructive side of the child labor problem) in Ashland, Kentucky. The study was conducted with so much of participating coöperation on the part of the community that its results were their results. Consequently, the improvement which these results called for, i.e., the method for solving the problem, evolved from the community's resources. No external imposition was needed to set in motion the educative processes needed to alter the situation. In a local report of the investigation, the community frankly states the solutions which its leaders have envisaged, and what is more, they indicate the steps to be taken. And Mr. Gibbons is eulogized and acclaimed by the community. How different is this consummation from that of a recent study of social institutions in which enmity between officials and investigators (and consequently a mood which inhibits creative solutions) was the chief net result.

THE CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS AND THE COMMUNITY

FREDERICK HARRIS

I. JOINT EFFORTS

THE Young Men's Christian Association and the Young Women's Christian Association were conceived originally as institutions parallel in the Euclidean sense—it was contemplated that, no matter how far they were produced, they would never meet. Until recently each for the most part has pursued its own way, of course in a spirit of perfect friendliness toward the other. The similarity of general character and program, however, must not be allowed to obscure one significant fact: it is no great matter for men to establish an institution for themselves, but it is quite an enterprise for women to launch on their own hook an organization for whose direction and maintenance they alone must be primarily responsible.

During the last few years the face of the situation has been changing rapidly and the separate ways of these two institutions have crossed at numerous points. Since the local units of both are strictly autonomous and at these points are acting largely on their own initiative, the experiments now under way present a wide diversity in character. Naturally, under the present circumstances a peculiar interest attaches to these experiments in view of their possible effect upon this policy of separateness which has been maintained for such a long period by these two institutions. The situation is changing week by week, so no accurate figures can be given; but it is quite certain from the records now in hand that at nearly two hundred points in the United States some form of joint work for men and women or some form of institutional co-operation is being undertaken.

The situation will be clearer if these enterprises are reviewed briefly in the concrete. They may be divided roughly into four classes.

1. *Work for women conducted by the Y. M. C. A.* In many small communities where there is a Y. M. C. A. but no Y. W. C. A., the men's organization has been opening up some of its privileges to women and girls. It is estimated that in more than one hundred centers over 25,000 women and girls are making use of such privileges.

This development has taken place on the initiative of the men's organization. The superior material resources of the Y. M. C. A. and its policy of deliberate expansion have placed it at many points where there is no woman's Association. In a large number of these instances the women of the community are not prepared to undertake the responsibility of an Association of their own. The local Y. M. C. A. under these circumstances finds itself impelled to open its doors to women and girls for any one or all of the following reasons: (1) The building and equipment may be used to capacity by filling in the hours when it is not frequented by men and boys, with a corresponding increase in financial returns. (2) The effort for women is bound to result in an increased moral and material support for the whole enterprise. (3) This procedure makes it possible to respond to a desire, present in many communities, for a service for women and girls in some degree commensurate with that offered to men and boys.

These women's activities are sometimes directed by the regular Y. M. C. A. staff. At other points there is a regularly-organized Women's Department. In some cases, these special features are developed

with the counsel of the national officers of the Y. W. C. A.; but in many the Y. M. C. A. proceeds entirely on its own responsibility. To those familiar with the small communities of America it is apparent that such a scheme may postpone indefinitely the organization of a Young Women's Christian Association in the fields where it is in operation. It is almost certain to do so unless carefully safe-guarded. With this probability in view the National Council of Young Men's Christian Associations, as its meeting in 1925, urged upon its member Associations consultation with the sister organization before such work is projected. This has been made state policy in half-a-dozen states.

Under such circumstances institutional relationships may be severely strained. These are not coöperative enterprises but Y. M. C. A. undertakings in which, at best, the leaders of the Y. W. C. A. act merely as counsellors. The local situations are complicated by many elements whose influence varies greatly in different situations. The local and field officers, however, are wrestling with this problem with a real concern for the welfare of the communities involved. There is much at stake in this "interesting development."

2. *The Christian Association.* A second scheme involves the actual merging of work for men and women. This is not an institutional merger; so far it has found favor only with some leaders of the Y. M. C. A. and has been tried out, in part only, in one city, Philadelphia. It is being considered for suburban communities elsewhere. The chief interest in this plan centers not in any achievement under it, but in the fact that it is regarded by a number of men in the Y. M. C. A. as the ultimate goal.

The ideal is that men and women shall

have equal responsibility from the Board of Directors down and that this Christian Association shall base its work upon the needs of the family as a whole. Of course, some activities will be kept separate always; but there will only be one Association viewing the whole task. The motive behind this tendency seems to be an earnest desire to realize the essential values of close and active coöperation between the sexes. Those who are directing the Philadelphia experimentation urge the Young Women's Christian Association to adopt the same plan.

The viewpoint represented here embodies the conviction that the day of separate enterprises should be brought to an end.

3. *Two institutions using the same equipment.* Whatever be the particular merits of the various practices included under this broad classification, this type of working arrangement is significant because it introduces the element of coöperation between the institutions as such. The coöperation in some cases may not be strictly voluntary in the sense that it is genuinely desired by the local officers of both Associations, but each organization presumably maintains its own identity.

There is a great diversity of procedure under this plan, from a strictly limited tenancy of one organization to the projects calling for twin buildings. There are dozens of such experiments scattered from coast to coast. The effect of economic pressure is seen in the consummation of such arrangements. Maximum use of equipment and reduction of overhead are two of the objects aimed at. Joint financial campaigns are a natural development, and thus the "number of appeals" is reduced.

While joint activities may or may not be a feature of this plan, it is inconceivable that such contiguity will not in many cases alter the programs of each institu-

tion in a manner that may affect general policy. Joint financial campaigns in themselves have a way of involving a weighing of relative values. The attention of the community is fixed upon the united enterprise. To what extent the interests of the institutions will merge will be determined largely in practice.

4. *Joint councils.* Coöperation between the Associations finds its clearest expression in the joint councils usually found in universities, in small cities, in suburban districts, and in rural communities, wherever both Associations are strong and well-organized. These councils are, of course, simply coördinating agencies acting for the two independent organizations whenever and wherever joint action seems desirable. The student Associations have carried out this plan most consistently, and a joint national council has been very active. The County of Westchester in New York is engaged in a very interesting experiment of this type; its special feature is that the co-operative effort is broader than just the two Associations.

These joint councils are designed to meet community desires and community needs for joint activities and at the same time to preserve the value of the separate enterprises. The motive is to secure the most effective application of character-building forces. The principle of such arrangements implies the maintenance of the identity and independence of the separate institutions, but it is necessary to take a realistic view of the situation. If the joint activities become successful and popular, the prestige of the joint councils tends to rise at the expense of the separate organizations. This means a modification of the separate plans. It is probable that under this scheme will develop many different forms according to the maintenance of the balance between types of activities.

In addition to these local activities, attention must be called to the coöperation between the national agencies in program building and in the publication of joint study courses. At the present time, a great deal of study is being directed to the discovery of the possible common elements in comprehensive programs for boys and for girls. Also, two representative commissions are meeting in joint session to consider the problems raised by such experiments as those recorded in the preceding paragraphs. Such activities are, of course, merely the proper functions of general agencies.

The real point of concern is that these local enterprises, each in its own way, raise a question regarding the traditional policy of these Associations.

II. COMMUNITY AND ORGANIZATION SIGNIFICANCE

A rather considerable number of persons interested in the welfare of youth hail these developments, with evident satisfaction, as the beginning of the end—the end in this case being the abandonment of the whole principle of separateness. Whatever purpose the distinction may have served in the past, they say, everything now points to the desirability of bringing men and women, boys and girls, together in serious community activities. Yet it is not quite so simple as this. A careful examination of the situation makes one pause.

Very few men, and by no means all women, understand that exceedingly delicate experiment in social adjustment referred to casually as the Woman's Movement. The present writer claims no such understanding; therefore, no exposition will be attempted here. In this discussion, it is necessary only to call particular attention to the fact that, in addition to general community interests,

the interests of women are peculiarly involved. No one will maintain that these interests of women are ultimately opposed to community interest, but it is possible that the ultimate best interests of all may be best conserved by a careful conservation of women's interests at certain critical points. It is easy to let this question run off into futile abstractions.

Turning to the concrete, one will find a considerable difference between the view of "separateness" taken by the Y. M. C. A. and that held by most of the leaders of the Y. W. C. A. With the men, it is just a tradition; with the women, a tradition reexamined and approved by rational conviction.

Except where the motive is crudely economic, and the procedure quite thoughtless, the leaders of those Young Men's Christian Associations that have established work for women and girls have been moved by a genuine concern to extend to the other sex the privileges formerly reserved for men and boys. Some of them, too, appreciate very clearly that their success with men and boys depends very closely upon some co-ordinate effort in the interests of women and girls. Where both institutions are well-organized, the more progressive men desire an integration of the two enterprises because they are quite convinced that the way for men and women to learn to live and work together properly is to get right at the business of living and working together. It is noticed that tradition does not have very much effect upon this strictly male point of view. The local Y. M. C. A. embarks upon women's work with few misgivings.

Now, the thoughtful leaders in the Y. W. C. A. are no less convinced that the welfare of the community depends upon the final achievement of a real integration of the man's part and the woman's part

in the enterprises of society; but as they see it, women are not yet ready to assume a share of major responsibilities because they have not had sufficient experience in bearing major responsibility. It is probably for the same reason that they are convinced that separate political organizations are temporary necessities. Are women to be blamed for thinking that under present circumstances they would inevitably lose out in a combination such as the United Christian Association? They certainly cannot draw much encouragement from the past experience or the present outlook in the Protestant churches. The women bear their full share, and more, of the work; but they have been assigned the position rather of auxiliaries than of principals. It is the men who do all the crowing. It really seems not unreasonable that the ladies should desire that out of all the institutions organized on a family basis there should be saved one place where women may have the priceless educational experience of managing their own affairs and carrying their own responsibilities.

The genuineness of the women's attitude is attested by the fact that under circumstances where women may be said to have arrived—notably in the student field, for example—no slightest objection is offered by them to any co-operation necessary to achieve desirable common aims. There has been no appeal to some stupid doctrine of "equality." Women who understand the distinctiveness of their sex far better than some men who speak so touchingly on the same theme ask only that, in this particular field and under these particular circumstances, there be a chance to defer joint effort till they can meet men face to face in a situation where fate has not loaded the dice against them.

Who is right in this particular instance?

This is no academic question. These two institutions have exercised a powerful influence on the social and religious life of America. This influence has not been confined to their own membership; indeed, it is probable that the indirect effect of their work has been more important than the direct. How they decide is a matter of real concern.

Undoubtedly, the answer will be sought in two directions. The experimentation now in process will go on: nothing in the world can stop it. The question is, will it be subjected to such constant and enlightened criticism as will result in an adequate evaluation? There are signs that this criticism will not be lacking. If this be true, much will be learned that can be discovered in no other way. Experimentation is being supplemented very wisely by another process. The Asso-

ciations are only two out of many community agencies and even their combined responsibilities are limited. It has already been planned, therefore, to conduct, under the direction of a group of competent men and women, a careful inquiry into the woman's movement. In order to discover just where the Associations fit in, it will be necessary to view this striking social development from a standpoint broader than that of immediate expediency. The tentative results of such an inquiry will be available to guide the experimenters.

Plainly there is a stony road ahead; for, of course, both the experimentation and the inquiry are beset with almost insuperable difficulties. In the end everything will have to be related to the American Home—but that is another story.

GUIDES TO PERIODICAL READING

GEORGE B. LOGAN

The American frontier of settlement had vanished before 1890. But there are other frontiers, less spectacular and romantic, which continue to creep toward the Pacific. "The Persistence of the Westward Movement," as John Carl Parish sees it in the April *Yale Review*, may be marked by the changing center of population, the growth of large cities, railroad and highway construction, the production of lumber and oil, manufactures, and intensive farming. Even culture, though it cannot be measured and graphed, is revealed as sharing in the same trek through the distribution of universities, libraries, publishing, and art centers. Our new contact with the Orient is beginning to give a peculiar and swiftly increasing importance to the life of the Far West.

The family is first of all a collection of individuals in domestic relationship. It is also a unity of interacting personalities. Still more, it is a social institution, recognizing its own distinct functions in the community. From the beginning of history there has been a definite family type, yet with immense differences in varying times and places. The small family of father, mother, and children, emancipated from all kinship control, is a product of the modern city. It may be highly integrated, with an elaborate ritual, severe discipline, co-operative activities, and sentimental interdependence; or it may be only loosely bound together, giving free rein to all individual aims. From the attempt, more or less conscious, to express two or sometimes three sets of ideals and

customs within a single family comes much of its present disorganization, as Ernest W. Burgess shows ably in the *Family* for March.

Almost too much for the present generation is the strain of trying to be both modern and domestic. Our 1926-model households are likely to be found perched somewhere between the horns of this dilemma. Is it impossible to achieve stability and adventure in the same breath? The *World Tomorrow* devotes its February number, entitled, "Homes," to discussing the momentous questions of who shall wash the dishes, whether founding a family is worth a marriage license or not, and most things between. Evans Clark, Mary Ross and others discourse on what constitutes a home, Beatrice M. Hinkle on keeping faith with the child—by means of nursery schools—and Ernest R. Groves on the home as a human need. Dorothy Canfield Fisher maintains that home-making is an art, and goes by no rules but the development of personality.

How to obtain the physical foundations of a good life in our cities? Artificial and strained, it is far from good now, and flight into the suburbs is of little avail, for the metropolis will surely in time grow out and engulf them. No mere feats of engineering can meet and conquer the forces that increase congestion; but motor transportation and electric power are beginning to point the way toward a decentralizing of industry and hence of all urban life. The alternative to "The Intolerable City" is limitation of growth and the planning and building of new communities in which the real needs of men are paramount. Garden cities, the British call them, and Lewis Mumford in *Harper's* for February draws an engaging picture of their American counterparts,

which exist chiefly though not altogether in imagination. Yet their creation depends not on changing human nature but on taking intelligent advantage of economic and cultural tendencies now at work.

Meanwhile we get along somehow in the great cities. Frederic A. Delano, summarizing in the January *American City* arguments for and against the skyscraper, thinks that buildings of extreme height can be made social assets if their populations are gauged to the capacity of street systems and to the area of nearby open ground. . . . The experience of Wichita, Kansas, during four years under a zoning ordinance, as described in the February issue by P. L. Brockway, shows its successful operation in a city of moderate size. . . . Methods of organizing, managing, and developing public support for a community chest are outlined briefly in the same number.

Perhaps the city has been too hastily maligned. According to Robert Murray Haig urban concentration is based largely on the economies it affords in transporting and distributing goods. Thus the metropolis is by no means a parasite on the country, he maintains in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics* for February, but rather a great productive machine, and were it not that much fabrication can be better carried on in outside areas our great cities would be still greater. Arguing from the history of New York, he concludes that population will at any time tend to form that pattern which is most efficient in view of the knowledge of natural resources and the state of transportation then in existence.

A graphic picture of an old New England town in a Pennsylvania setting, peopled by foreign laborers who have lit-

tle part in American life, is painted by Anne H. Roller in the *Survey* for February. Wilkes-Barre is the town, and its stormy anthracite history has moulded a community in which there are rigid class lines and little mutual understanding. Social work under these hostile influences is an up-hill job. . . . New York City and its environs face what is perhaps the largest-scale and most difficult planning project on record. Thomas Adams, director of the regional plan, describes in the January 15 and February 15 issues its principles and proposals.

In order to see social welfare whole

we would do well to lay off community measuring sticks by means of which the needs and accomplishments of the work may be judged. To this end the American Association for Community Organization is making a study of "Volume and Cost of Social Work," in which thirty large cities are coöperating. A preliminary report, from the same magazine for March 15, shows in graphic form information taken from most of them on sources of current income, amount of unearned income, and the various types of receipts for different purposes. The study should be of value in helping a city to reconsider its philanthropic finances.

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RACE, CULTURAL GROUPS, SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

STATISTICS AND THE RACE HYPOTHESIS

JOSEPH M. GILLMAN

OUR national legislators could have cited any number of good reasons for restricting immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe through the passage of the immigration act of 1924. Speaking for labor, they might have declared with a fair degree of certainty:

Unregulated immigration tends to underbid the American labor market; it tends to weaken the bargaining power of American labor; it prevents the crystallization of its political class consciousness. This seems to be particularly true of the immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe which has been flooding the American labor market with an apparently inexhaustible supply of cheap and docile labor, untutored in the ways of modern industrialism.

Speaking for the American employers, they might have declared, with an equal degree of validity:

Immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe no longer suits our purposes. It no longer brings us the safe and sound labor of yesteryear. During the War these foreigners swelled the ranks of organized labor so that by 1910 the membership of the American Federation of Labor was more than double what it was a half dozen years earlier. They not only joined the labor unions, but they went out on strikes; as witness the steel strike of 1919. And what is worse, the foreigners that now come to us from these parts of Europe are imbued with the germ of Sovietism and Bolshevism. We propose to keep them out. And as for common labor, we can draw upon our Negro South, and upon the Mexicans from below the Rio Grande.

Thus our national legislators could have given the thinking world a fair argument for passing the immigration restriction act of 1924. Instead, they chose to give as a basis for their action a belief which has no validity in fact.

The belief to which our national legislators gave official recognition is as old as the formation of human tribes. It is the belief that "my tribe is better than your tribe." It is the "chosen people" idea of the ancients. It is the "my-dad-can-lick-your-dad" argument. In America traces of it can be found even in colonial days. By the more learned it is reinforced by the rather naïve but quite prevalent assumption that the human family can readily be classified into inferior and superior race groups. So Professor E. A. Ross in 1914 declared the immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe to be "descendants of those who always stayed behind."

For congressional purposes this belief was given further semblance of validity by bringing statistics to its aid. By the use of statistics it was proved (to the satisfaction of Congress) that:

A. Our immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe are more susceptible to the social inadequacies,—to pauperism, insanity, epilepsy, etc., than the older immigrant stocks and the natives.

B. This excessive susceptibility is a race quality.

C. The peoples from Southern and Eastern Europe

possess mental capacities basically inferior to those of the other nativity groups living in the United States.

A. The statistical "proof" of the relatively greater susceptibilities of our recent immigrants to social inadequacies was presented to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization of the 67th Congress by Dr. H. H. Laughlin, staff member of the Eugenics Record Office of the Carnegie Institute of Washington, D. C.¹ Dr. Laughlin had made a study of the race and nativity distribution of the socially inadequate persons who in 1921 were inmates of certain custodial institutions of the several States and of the Federal Government. On the basis of this study he erected two claims:

1. That the immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe, on the whole, presented a higher percentage of social inadequacy than did the older immigrant stocks.²

2. That the differences in extent of inadequacy thus discovered, "represent real differences in social values, which represent in turn, real differences in inborn values of the family stocks from which the particular inmates have sprung."³

An examination of Dr. Laughlin's study disclosed the fact that most of his conclusions were based on erroneous statistical analyses, and furthermore, that his own detailed figures told an entirely different story from the one which he purports to extract. As was pointed out at a subsequent hearing of the same

¹ Hearings before the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, House of Representatives, 67th Congress, Third Session, Nov. 21, 1921. The report, as Serial 7-C, was released by the Supt. of Documents in July, 1923.

² Hearings before the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, Serial 7-C, P. 755.

³ *Ibid.*, P. 752.

committee, among numerous other statistical shortcomings:⁴

1. Dr. Laughlin's data were insufficiently sampled. When checked by the test of probable errors it developed that for the feeble-minded his findings were acceptable for only 8 countries out of an enumerated list of 47; his findings on epilepsy were acceptable for only 12 countries; on tuberculosis for 17, and on dependency for 19. For the blind, the deaf, and the deformed no findings, according to this test were valid.

Only in the cases of insanity and crime did the findings show an apparent general validity.

2. Dr. Laughlin made no allowance for such obvious factors as the peculiar age and sex distribution of our immigrants, and the relative extent of segregation of the social inadequates in the various states of the country.

3. According to his own findings, the incidence of inadequacy for the recent immigrant stocks was actually lower than that for the native stocks in 6 out of the 9 inadequacies studied. Immigrants from Southeastern Europe had a lower incidence than the native groups in feeble-mindedness, in epilepsy, in blindness, in deafness, in deformity and in dependency. In insanity and in dependency Southern and Eastern European immigrants showed less inadequacy than the immigrants from Northwestern Europe.

These last facts alone should have been sufficient warning against the conclusion that our pre-war immigrants were relatively more subject to social inadequacy than our older stocks. But when corrections are made for the numerous statistical biases with which Dr. Laughlin's findings are burdened, the basis for his conclusions vanishes altogether. We will take as examples the two instances in which alone the probable errors were not

⁴ Hearings before the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, House of Representatives, 68th Congress, First Session, H. R. 5, H. R. 101 and H. R. 561.

large enough to invalidate Dr. Laughlin's findings; namely, insanity and crime. In both these instances, according to his own retests, allowance for age distribution alone reduces the incidence ratio of the foreign born considerably.⁸ In the case of insanity (the average age of the inmates in institutions for the insane was found to be nearly 42 years) the original ratio⁹ for the foreign born of 225.76 per cent is reduced to 146.88 per cent when the population "over 20 years of age," instead of the "total" population, is used as a base. For the native born white this shift in base results in an increased ratio, namely, in a change from 82.6 per cent to 94.01 per cent. Allowance for sex, for the greater segregation of insane in the states where the foreign born are most concentrated and for one or two other corrections which were urged by the writer¹⁰ would have brought the ratios of the two groups still closer.

In the case of the adult criminalistic the shift in base from the whole population to the population "over 20 years of age" (the average age of adult prisoners being about 32 years) results in a drop for the foreign born from a ratio of 100.60 per cent to one of 65.44 per cent, and in a rise for the native born white from a ratio of 80.47 per cent to one of 88.44 per cent.

Dr. Laughlin also retested his figures for the feeble-minded, and *mirabile dictu!*, allowance for the age composition raised

⁸ See in Hearings on March 8, 1924, Serial 5-A, Dr. Laughlin's retests in which he seeks to belittle the writer's earlier suggestions that among others this was an indispensable correction to be made in the statistical treatment of his data.

⁹ The ratios were computed by dividing the number of inmates found in institutions by the number "expected" in accordance with the proportion in the general population.

¹⁰ In his "Statistics and the Immigration Problem," Am. Jl. of Soc., July, 1924.

the incidence ratio for the foreign born. In the original computations the ratios were as follows:

	Percent
Native born white.....	125.82
Foreign born white.....	31.91
Northwestern Europe.....	18.98
Southern and Eastern Europe.....	33.02

When allowance was made for the age factor (Dr. Laughlin used as a denominator the population group "under 25 years of age"), the incidence ratio for the *foreign born white* jumped to 77.04 per cent, while for the native born white it actually decreased to 100.26 per cent.

It is rather unfortunate that no census figures are available for specific ages of our foreign born people by country of origin. Thus from the census figures it is impossible to tell how many of the Russian or English born people in America were 16 to 25 years of age at the time the Census was taken. It is therefore not readily possible to shift the base for a comparison of the relative inadequacy for specific nationalities of recent and of older immigrant stocks. Dr. Laughlin accordingly retested his figures in the form of general nativity groups only.

But when the statement is read that the foreign born ratio for feeble-mindedness had "jumped" from 31.91 per cent to 77.04 per cent, one immediately thinks of the Hungarians, the Italians, the Slavs. For has not Dr. Laughlin told us that: "The recent immigrants as a whole, present a higher percentage of inborn socially inadequate qualities than do the older immigrant stocks?" In this case, therefore, it will repay to probe a little deeper.

The United States Census gives the age distribution of our foreign born population by country of origin for the principal countries by the age group, "Males, 21 years of age and over." By subtraction, the number of males, "under 21 years of

age" was obtained for the principal countries of Northwestern Europe,—for Great Britain, Ireland, Germany and the Scandinavian countries,—the countries of origin of our "foundation stocks," as Dr. Laughlin calls them, and for the principal countries of recent immigration, namely for Russia, Austria-Hungary and Italy. When ratios for the feeble-minded are computed on the basis of the total male population and on the basis of the males "under 21 years of age" (the average age of male feeble-minded in institutions is about 16), the following results are obtained:

The ratio for Southern and Eastern Europe increases from 32.85 to 67.7 per cent

The ratio for the "Foundation Stocks" increases from 25.48 to 178.5 per cent

The ratio for the Native Groups increases from 108.47 to 116.5 per cent

It is again suggested that the relative position in extent of inadequacy of the recent and older immigrant stocks would be similarly affected if the ratios for all the inadequacies were retested in accordance with proper statistical principles.⁸

B. For the present, however, it is necessary to return to the second thesis; namely, that the supposed excessive susceptibility of our pre-war immigrants to social inadequacy is a race quality.

That this is another pre-supposition becomes clear from the fact that Dr. Laughlin's statistics disclose a greater difference between the incidence of inadequacy of the older immigrant stocks and that of the natives than between the incidence of inadequacy of the recent immigrant and that of the older immigrant stocks. The incidence of inadequacy for Southeastern Europe is, according to Dr.

Laughlin's figures, only 10 per cent higher than the incidence for Northwestern Europe; namely, 143.24 per cent and 130.42 per cent respectively. The incidence for Northwestern Europe is 41 per cent higher than that for the native stocks, namely, 130.42 per cent and 91.89 per cent respectively. Dr. Laughlin calls the 10 per cent difference between the ratios of the recent and older immigrant stocks "real differences in social values." But he completely ignores the much larger difference of over 41 per cent between the ratio of the native stocks and that of the immigrants from Northwestern Europe, who are akin to the natives.

It is not long since when the responsibility for the existence of misery in this world was laid upon the Creator and regarded as inevitable. Now the attempt is being made to regard the social shortcomings of a people as race qualities. Let us test this new theory as applied to the case of economic dependency. Let us take a specific example,—the number of families granted material relief by the Associated Charities of Cleveland, Ohio, between 1915 and 1923. Check that against the production of pig-iron in the United States. Cleveland is pre-eminently an industrial city and largely a manufacturing city of iron and steel and of iron and steel products. The fluctuation in the production of pig-iron is commonly taken as a fair index of the current industrial situation of the country at large, particularly of its industrial centers. By the statistical method of correlation, the interdependence between the production of pig-iron in the United States and the number of families granted material relief in Cleveland is found to be as high as -0.82 .⁹ This means that a fall or a rise of the number of families relieved by the

⁸ Fully discussed by the present writer in his "Statistics and the Immigration Problem," cited above.

⁹ When allowance is made for the respective secular trends, $r = -0.80$ (-0.7998).

Cleveland Associated Charities is very largely a matter of a rise or fall in the production of pig-iron in the United States. Some 80 per cent of the beneficiaries of the Associated Charities of Cleveland is made up by the foreign peoples of the city. Theirs, then, must indeed be a queer race biology which changes with the changes in the production of pig-iron in the United States.

C. In addition to the claims that our recent immigrants are excessively subject to social inadequacy, and that these excessive susceptibilities are due to inborn race qualities, it is further claimed that immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe has supplied us with *mentally* inferior peoples.

The "proof" of this claim, as every one knows or should know, has been found in the scores of the Army intelligence tests.

During the War a series of mental tests for the better selection and placement of our drafted men were given to some 94,000 white draftees among whom 12,492 were of foreign birth. The literate English speaking men were given a set of tests called "Alpha." The illiterate and non-English speaking men were given a set of tests called "Beta." To a group of some 3,000 men special tests were given. On the basis of these tests a mental age was computed for each of the several nationality groups that were examined. It then turned out that the computed mental age of our foreign born was lower than that of the native born white draftees,—12.05 and 13.77 respectively. Miraculously, also, the mental age of our immigrants from Northwestern Europe proved to be higher than that of our immigrants from Southeastern Europe. These tests, then, have thus become the proof conclusive of the inherent mental superiority

of what is termed the "Nordic" race over those of "Non-Nordic" origins.

The facts, of course, are that these tests neither tested the *native* intelligence of our drafted men, nor have they established any significant differences between the mental ages thus determined. Even those who have been most persistent in their attempts to give validity to the Nordic hypothesis on the basis of the army tests have had to admit that some of the tests are not tests of innate intelligence. Professor Carl C. Brigham, who may well represent those who uphold the Nordic hypothesis on this basis, rejects four of the eight Alpha tests and four of the seven Beta tests as not fair tests of intelligence.¹⁰ At least two more of the Alpha tests, namely, the arithmetical test and the synonym-antonym test, should be included among the tests of educational achievement rather than of general innate intelligence. Finally, Professor Brigham himself found rather high coefficients of correlation (correlations of +0.65 to +0.75) between the test scores and years of schooling of those tested.¹¹ This must mean that a large proportion of the success in passing the army tests depended on the previous education of the men tested.

Yet, it is on the basis of these essentially educational tests that the native white draftees are claimed to be innately superior mentally than the foreign draftees (to the extent of 1.72 years). One need only examine several other scores which have been computed to establish the absurdity of this logic. For instance, it is found that our English immigrants tested a mental age of 14.87, fully 1.1 years higher than that of the native white draft. The German immigrants tested 13.88, also

¹⁰ Brigham, C. C., *A Study of American Intelligence*, Section 1, p. 3ff. and Section 11, p. 32ff.

¹¹ Op. cit., pp. 62-63.

higher than that of the native Americans. Professor Brigham must, therefore, admit that these differences prove the innate mental superiority of the English and of the Germans over our native white people. And if this should not be admitted, room must still be found on the genealogical tree of the human race for a super-Nordic branch—for the American white officers who on the basis of the same tests have been credited with a mental age of 18.84—more than five years above that of the native white draft.

Further evidence that the army tests are tests of education and experience rather than of innate race intelligence may be gleaned from the fact that the mental age of our foreign born as measured by these tests was found to vary with the length of their residence in America. Thus it was found that the foreigners who had lived in America:

Less than five years had a mental age of 11.4
Between five and ten had a mental age of 11.7
Between ten and fifteen had a mental age of 12.5
Between fifteen and twenty had a mental age of
13.5

Professor Brigham takes these figures

to indicate a progressive decline in the mental calibre of our immigrants. To the present writer they seem rather to reflect the common sense fact that the boys who had lived in America longest had had more of our schooling and were, therefore, best prepared to pass the Army tests.¹²

After all, one wonders why all these demonstrations of our Nordics to reach conclusions which were discovered nearly a hundred years ago by the famous inventor, S. F. B. Morse, when he asserted with respect to the immigrants of old (he was writing in 1835): "Then our accessions of immigration were real accessions of strength. Now immigration is the accession of weakness, from the ignorant and vicious. . . ."

Mr. Morse was speaking of the ancestors of those who now uphold the Nordic myth.

¹² Similarly the negro draftees from Pennsylvania, New York, Illinois, and Ohio passed the Army test with higher scores than the native white draftees from the states of Massachusetts, Kentucky, Arkansas, and Georgia.

RECENT CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE STUDY OF AMERICAN NEGRO SONGS

GUY B. JOHNSON

UNTIL two years ago there had been only occasional contributions in the field of Negro song. To go back a few years, there was, in 1914, Krehbiel's *Afro-American Folk-Songs*,¹ a study of Negro songs from the point of view of the expert musician; in 1915

Work's *Folk-Songs of the American Negro*,² a book of spirituals recorded at Fisk; in 1918-19 Natalie Curtis Burlin's *Negro Folk-Songs*,³ a series of four volumes of

¹ J. W. Work, *Folk Songs of the American Negro*, Fisk University Press, Nashville, 1915.

² Natalie Curtis Burlin, *Negro Folk Songs*, Hampton Series, 4 vols., G. Schirmer, New York, 1918-19. Volumes I and II are spirituals, volumes III and IV are work- and play-songs.

¹ H. E. Krehbiel, *Afro-American Folk Songs*, G. Schirmer, New York, 1914.

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spirituals and secular songs recorded at Hampton; and in 1922 Talley's book of *Negro Folk Rhymes*.⁴ But of late there has come a veritable flood of literature on Negro songs. It is the purpose of this article to discuss briefly the recent books in this subject.

The spirituals continue to receive a large share of the attention of those who are interested in the preservation of Negro songs. Two recent books are devoted entirely to them. Ballanta's *Saint Helena Island Spirituals*⁵ is a collection of 115 spirituals which he recorded at Penn School. Saint Helena Island is off the coast of Beaufort County, South Carolina, and, its population being somewhat isolated and cut off from the inroads of the continental civilization, it offers an interesting field for the study of Negro songs. While there are very few songs in Ballanta's work which are not found in various forms in the Carolinas, the dialect of the island songs is nearer the dialect of slavery times, the words of the songs are more naïve, and the music does not show the influence of constant contact with white music as many of the continental songs do.

Students of folk song have often remarked upon the secular origin of religious songs. These island spirituals retain even today a mode of expression which reveals how close they were to the everyday life of the people in their origin. Many of them were undoubtedly secular songs before the church began its work among the Negroes. The naïveté of island stanzas like

Git yo' bundle ready, I know it's time,
Yo' cyan' tell de winter f'um de summer time,

⁴ Thomas W. Talley, *Negro Folk Rhymes*, Macmillan, New York, 1922.

⁵ N. G. J. Ballanta, *Saint Helena Island Spirituals*, G. Schirmer, New York, 1925.

or

I wonder weh wuz Moses when de church burn
down,
Standin' obuh yonder wid his head hung down,

or

If you Aunt Julia, don't you tell Aunt Jane,
Do, fo' Gawd's sake don't you call my name,

was found in the slave songs on the continent, but it is scarcely to be heard in the continental spirituals of today because it is too secular to be good form.

Ballanta's foreword is hardly the kind of foreword which the average person who is interested in Negro song could comprehend. His ultra-technical discussion of rhythm, scales, and tones, and his theorizing on the characteristics of and differences between African and American Negro music are hard enough for a musician to digest, much less the ordinary devotee of Negro song. A few words about the people of St. Helena Island, their songs, customs, and the like would have been much more appropriate for the sort of collection which Ballanta made. Furthermore, his book suffers a little from unnatural dialect spelling and the absence of proper punctuation. However, when one considers that he is a native of Gambia, West Africa, and had to approach the English language and the study of American Negro songs as a total stranger, one must admit that he has done remarkably well. His work is indeed a much-needed contribution to our knowledge of Negro songs.

In *The Book of American Negro Spirituals*⁶ we have no doubt the best general collection and arrangement of the spirituals ever made. In his fifty-page preface James Weldon Johnson summarizes in a quite interesting way the history, develop-

⁶ James Weldon Johnson, *The Book of American Negro Spirituals*, The Viking Press, New York, 1925.

ment, and importance of the spirituals. His remarks upon the reproduction of Negro dialect are also especially apt. Rosamond Johnson and Lawrence Brown made the musical arrangement for the sixty-one spirituals contained in the book. Most of the songs of course have been published before in one form or another in the various collections, but these musicians have taken them out of the atmosphere of the church hymnal and have put the genuine Negro swing into them. Many persons will say that they have spoiled the spirituals. Perhaps that is because they are afraid of anything which does not look like the old-time hymn books. The arrangements *are* different from any other arrangements of the spirituals. They show some unusual harmonies, a bit of syncopation, and a few flourishes. But one must not forget that the melodies are left intact, that the singer can interpret the songs as he desires, and that the rhythmic accompaniments should contribute to the ease with which he sings the melody. The book serves admirably the purpose for which it was intended, namely, to bring together in one collection the best of the old spirituals and to give them arrangements which would preserve the natural rhythmic qualities of Negro song. Certainly *The Book of American Negro Spirituals* has done much toward bringing about the revival of interest in Negro spirituals which is now upon us.

R. Emmet Kennedy's *Black Cameos*⁷ is primarily a piece of art, but it may be mentioned here because it makes some contribution to the preservation of Negro spirituals. After the style of Joel Chandler Harris, Kennedy has told a score or more of dialect stories portraying Negro life in Gretna, a Negro suburb of New

⁷ R. Emmet Kennedy, *Black Cameos*, A. and C. Boni, New York, 1924.

Orleans, and has woven in spirituals here and there. He has included the simple melodies of these songs, some of which seem to be native Louisiana productions.

A later book by Kennedy entitled *Mellows*⁸ is a still more valuable contribution. This volume contains the words and music of spirituals, work songs, and street cries of New Orleans and environs. In his first chapter Kennedy touches upon a field which has been little explored, namely, the relation of Negro songs to printed ballad sheets. While his style will be found too personal and informal by those who are not interested in his explanations and character sketches, one must admit that his book has considerable value even to the scientific student of Negro song.

Another book which deals with both spirituals and secular songs is Odum and Johnson's *The Negro and His Songs*.⁹ In this volume the authors have attempted to study Negro songs from the historical and sociological point of view. The two hundred or more songs in this collection are divided into three general groups: religious songs, social songs, and work songs.

Dorothy Scarborough's *On the Trail of Negro Folk-Songs*¹⁰ is especially noteworthy in that it is devoted entirely to secular songs. Heretofore the spirituals have received most of the attention of students of Negro song, but it is inevitable that as the field of secular song begins to yield interesting returns it will receive more and more attention. Beyond a doubt this field is almost as rich and varied and

⁸ R. Emmet Kennedy, *Mellows*, A. and C. Boni, New York, 1925.

⁹ Howard W. Odum and Guy B. Johnson, *The Negro and His Songs*, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1925.

¹⁰ Dorothy Scarborough, *On the Trail of Negro Folk-Songs*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1925.

promising as that of the spirituals is, and a little more intensive cultivation of it will help to give the Negro's secular creations the place which they deserve.

One of the most valuable things about Miss Scarborough's book is her discussion (Chapter II) of the Negro's part in the transmission of the traditional songs and ballads, a discussion which should be of interest not only to literary students but to sociologists. After presenting several examples of the Negro's taking over and transmitting the old English and Scottish ballads, she concludes as follows:

Doubtless a definite search for this sort of material would show a number of other traditional ballads surviving among the Negroes of the various southern states, especially those of an older civilization. It is an investigation that should be made soon, however, for the old songs are being crowded out of existence by the popularity of phonographs and the radio, which start the Negroes singing other types of song, to the exclusion of the fine old ballads and their own folk-songs. This research might form the basis for an extremely interesting and scholarly piece of work, which would have sociological as well as literary value.¹¹

The rest of the book is divided into the following chapters: Negro Ballads, Dance Songs or "Reels," Children's Game-Songs, Lullabies, Songs about Animals, Work-Songs, Railroad Songs, and Blues. The simple melodies of most of the songs in the book are given.

Miss Scarborough's style is at times so chatty and personal as to be annoying. One does not like to hear what Mrs. B.—of Podunk, Texas, had to say in her letter when she sent in a song. Neither does it add to the effectiveness of the presentation to relate that an old Negro Uncle, a former slave of the author's grandfather, had this and that to say about how he was treated during slavery.

The student who is interested in the

¹¹ Scarborough, p. 64.

Negro's facility for vulgarity and double meaning will find in this book several excellent specimens. Whether the author was aware of it or not she included in her collection quite a few songs of this kind.

One can hardly blame Miss Scarborough for making a few mistakes as to the origins of her songs. For example, "I Ain't Goin' To Work No Mo'" is not a folk song, but was composed and published about fifteen years ago by James Weldon Johnson and his brother Rosamond Johnson. But these are minor criticisms. The chief fault of the book, from the point of view of its usefulness to the student of folk song, is its lack of any sort of index. In a book containing so many valuable songs, the absence of some kind of index of songs is almost unpardonable.

Thus musicians, literary folk, and sociologist have turned their attention toward Negro songs, with the result that there is something of an epidemic of research in that field just now. But it is a welcome epidemic, for a field as fertile and promising as this offers almost unlimited opportunities for research, not only for the musician and student of literature, but to the sociologist and psychologist.

But the crest of the present wave of interest in Negro songs has not been reached yet. As this paper appears several new books are just coming out or are in preparation. There is a book on the blues by W. C. Handy;¹² there is a volume of present-day secular songs by Odum and Johnson,¹³ a companion volume to *The Negro and His Songs*; there is another volume of spirituals edited by James

¹² W. C. Handy, *Blues: An Anthology of Jazz Music*, A. and C. Boni, 1926.

¹³ Howard W. Odum and Guy B. Johnson, *Negro Workday Songs*, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1926.

Weldon Johnson, who is also working on a volume of secular songs;¹⁴ and quite probably there will appear soon still

¹⁴ The volume of spirituals will appear this year, the volume of secular songs in 1927. The Viking Press is publishing both.

other contributions of which the writer has not yet heard. Indeed, it looks as if more will be done in the present decade for the preservation and interpretation of Negro songs than in all of the previous decades combined.

GUIDES TO PERIODICAL READING

GEORGE B. LOGAN

The intelligent Negro—perhaps not so rare an individual as we commonly suppose—finds himself, in a white civilization, at one or another of two poles. If he stays South he becomes an isolated figure, lacking companionship or chance for expression, and loses his natural gayety of spirit in introspection and bitterness. In the North, however, he may be taken at rather more than his real value, an object of curiosity to white sympathizers and often the victim of sentimentalists. They are likely to overrate such talents of his as approach those of white men; but his peculiar racial gifts—capacity for laughter and play, deep-rooted cynicism, dramatic genius, and contempt for industrialism—get little understanding. The "Afro-American, North and South," thinks L. M. Hussey in the February *American Mercury*, remains something of a baffled personality.

Girdling the earth with an endless chain of racial enmities, "The World Problem of Color" has yet to attract the best statesmanship to its solution. Throughout Asia rises a bitter tide of suspicion and envy directed against the white peoples, while in South Africa, Australia, and the United States two or more races meet daily in personal contact, economic competition, and contempt and anger. So writes Sir Valentine Chirol

sweepingly in the *Edinburgh Review* for January; and the darkest aspect of the problem is miscegenation and the human misery that flows from it. Ultimately the complete fusion of races may bring a solution, but for the present we can only recognize the colored man's right to equality of opportunity and the white man's duty of trusteeship. Otherwise war of frightful proportions and a common ruin for both.

The sudden and astonishing arrival of "The New Negro" has come from half a century's travail. Booker Washington, with his doctrine of passive adaptation, and DuBois, fiercely proud and resentful, both prepared the way for the flowering of literature, art, and science, and the assured sense of racial competence, that has only today been revealed. Though the war and the northern migrations have made possible the expression of this new spirit, it actually results from a slow accretion of sensitivity and tradition. For the first time, declares V. F. Calverton in *Current History* for February, the race has a sense of unity and strength and is determined to cut its own road through the modern world.

Birth controllers have found in the February *Atlantic* an outspoken opponent who meets their arguments with facts

and figures from the arsenal of science. Louis I Dublin believes that population in this country is nowhere near the limit of its resources and not likely to reach it in the near future. Older American families in the cities are barely holding their own, and our present high rate of natural increase is due to temporary and abnormal conditions. Growing urban life, the cutting off of fertile stocks from abroad, and the increasing number of persons past the reproductive period of life will perhaps show us before long that population can fall as well as rise in a geometric ratio. Birth control, anti-social, selfish, and sometimes dangerous, may easily become a menace to the state, which has every right to prevent its own suicide. The goal of a well-organized and happy society is not to be reached by rushing to a hasty solution of the population problem which, if fallacious, can never afterwards be set right.

The two contrasted types of Jewry—Mediterranean and Eastern European—have a long and tangled ancestry. Originally a Semitic people, the Hebrews mingled in turn with Hittite, Egyptian, Nordic, Negroid, and Babylonian stocks. The great dispersion after the fall of Jerusalem split the race apart, the western section forming a nucleus in Spain and the eastern first in Mesopotamia, then in southern Russia, and lastly in Poland, where, after acquiring a good deal of Mongolian blood, it turned to meet European culture. Despite this ethnic confusion, the Jew is today more conscious of race than ever before, owing to his long medieval period of isolation and hatred. "The Pedigree of Judah," as traced thus by Lothrop Stoddard in the March *Forum*, begins a series of papers which are to treat the modern problem of anti-Semitism.

Revolt at Fisk University has reopened the vexed question of "Negroes in College." Such institutions as Howard, Lincoln, Atlanta, and Hampton are taught mainly by whites and attended by Negroes; Wilberforce and Lincoln University of Missouri are both taught and attended by Negroes; and scattered colored students are enrolled in a number of northern colleges. Each type of school has its peculiar problems, many of which W. E. B. DuBois details in the *Nation* for March 3. Of late years the tide of misunderstanding and hostility in all of them has noticeably increased. The question resolves itself into our determination to educate Negroes either as independent, self-respecting citizens or as a subordinate caste.

The Imperial Wizard and Emperor of the Ku Klux Klan again delivers himself of a long defense of "The Klan's Fight for Americanism" in the *North American Review* for March. Replying to the charges of numerous critics, he explains the meaning that patriotism, white rule, and Protestantism have acquired to the loyal Klansman. The movement is directly supported by Divine Providence for the saving of the nation from insidious enemies. In the following number a prominent Catholic, Jew, Negro, and Protestant are to get somewhat different views of the Klan's place in American life off their respective chests. . . . The Emperor Evans, as well as the rest of us, may or may not get some light from the official pronouncement of "The Catholic Church and Politics," made by Giuseppe Dalla Torre in the same issue. He maintains that the church as such never enters politics, but works for religious purposes along the most inclusive social lines.

The February issue of *Opportunity*, devoted to the industrial life of the colored race, contains a carefully documented study of "The Negro in the Coal Mining Industry" by Abram L. Harris. E. Franklin Frazier contributes a similar account of the Negro and cotton. The experience of the Cleveland Hardware Company, which has assimilated 500 colored workmen into some of its most skilled positions, is told by Edgar E. Adams. Negro farm life, W. S. Scarborough points out, is the backbone of the South and needs the understanding of white men and closer contact with the federal government. Several articles, including one by William Green of the A. F. of L., argue the knotty problem of the black man in the unions. In the March number John

T. Clark writes of the Negro's recent invasion of steel.

"Social Equality" is a nettle of peculiar sharpness. It is not often we get such a firm grip of it as the *World Tomorrow* takes in its April number. E. Franklin Frazier, Zona Gale, and William Pickens probe pretty deeply into the experience and logic and feeling that lie back of the South's stubborn fear of the thing; and in an eloquent indictment of racial arrogance John Haynes Holmes brings the testimony of science, history, and religion to confound the theory and practice of caste. We will do honor to both races when we leave the crowning act of equality—intermarriage—to the mutual decision of the two individuals who are in each case directly concerned in it.

GOVERNMENT, POLITICS, CITIZENSHIP

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE BI-PARTY SYSTEM

WALTER JAMES SHEPARD

POLITICAL parties are universal features of modern constitutional governments. It was a fatuous hope of Washington that the United States might avoid the development of parties. Even in his administration they appeared, and in one form or another have since been continuously in existence. Every constitutional government has its party system, and speculation as to how parties may be eliminated are as futile as the speculation in regard to how we may put old heads on young shoulders, or how we might substitute an enthusiasm among undergraduates for the study of Greek in place of that for inter-collegiate sports.

The reason for this is that political parties are fundamentally psychological; given the conditions of modern constitutional government they are natural and inevitable because they are rooted in human nature. Graham Wallas has brilliantly pointed out that political phenomena are quite as much the result of emotional as of rational impulses. There is an instinctive element in political conduct; and political parties, to a large extent, are the product of these emotional and instinctive features of the group mind. It is consequently impossible to apply a rigid measuring stick of logic to them. We can seek to understand them and to explain them, but our explanation will

be largely in terms of social psychology and not altogether in terms of logic.

This is not to say that particular individuals may not, and ought not, to stand aloof from parties. Fortunately there are some in every community who do not run with the herd. The independent in politics performs a useful service, and organizations of independent individuals, such as the League of Women Voters, doubtless make valuable contributions to the solution of political problems and to the correction of political ills. But until human nature itself is changed, these must remain exceptional, extraordinary, unusual. The normal conduct of politics involves the existence of political parties and so far as we can see they will continue indefinitely to be the ordinary channels through which democracy functions.

If the party system is universal, the particular form which it takes in any country depends upon local circumstances, and especially upon the national psychology of the particular community. It is a much debated question whether national traits are the product of education and environmental influences, or spring from those mysterious and unsounded depths of race about which we know so little. For our purpose it is immaterial whether national psychology is the product of social influences or

natural heredity, whether it is acquired or congenital. It is sufficient for us to recognize the fact that different nations think and act differently on many questions, and that among these are the problems of government.

Like other social institutions, party systems are to be judged, not by any absolute or theoretical criterion, but pragmatically. How do they work? is the question which we must ask. Nor can we conclude that because a particular party system works well in one environment it would prove equally satisfactory elsewhere. The reasons for its success depend upon the social, the economic and the governmental institutions of the country, and particularly upon the psychology of the people. If it is futile to speculate upon the possibility of eliminating parties from our political life, it is equally futile to attempt to modify or alter the general character of the party system which prevails in a particular country. Legislation may change in some slight degree the methods of party action, but American experience with the direct primary indicates that the spirit of party will always circumvent such legal trammels and will inevitably find means of practically nullifying statutory prescriptions. Beyond the limits of minor regulations which law may perhaps impose upon the methods of procedure of parties, they escape all attempts at control. Not dependent upon law for their origin, they spring up spontaneously out of the deep soil of human nature. They send out their tendrils and runners and clamber over, and encircle, the legal structure of government. Indeed they may in some cases twist and distort, or even destroy, the legally constituted agencies. The perversion of the American Electoral College is a classic example of the influence and control which the party system

may exercise upon the institutions of government set up by constitutional law.

If one examines the party systems of the modern world, he will discover two general types, the bi-party and the group systems. The general characteristics of each type are fairly well understood. The bi-party system is distinctively Anglo-Saxon, prevailing in Great Britain and her self-governing dominions and in the United States. The group system is found in all the western countries of Europe including the new states which have come into existence as a result of the war. In the bi-party system the dominant feature is the existence of two great parties. Third parties may indeed appear from time to time and often may exist for a considerable period, but the system is characterized fundamentally by the dominance of two major parties. On the other hand in France, in Germany, in Italy, in Belgium, in Spain, in Jugo-Slavia and Czecho-Slovakia, we find a considerable number of groups, some of which from time to time are united in blocs or alliances, but these dissolve into their constituent elements upon the emergence of new issues of primary importance.

The study of party systems can be pursued from two points of view; that of the government, and particularly the legislative body; and that of the body of voters. In the legislative chambers of continental Europe the group system is clearly in evidence. The architectural plan of these chambers suggests the division of membership of these bodies into numerous groups. The seats are arranged in the form of an amphitheater and the various parties are located from right to left according to the degree of conservatism or radicalism which they represent. The very terms, right, right center, center, left center, and left have come to designate

the political attitude of various groups and parties.

In contrast with this architectural arrangement, found in the legislative chambers of France and Germany, in Italy and Belgium, is the peculiar design of the English House of Commons. Here the benches upon which the members sit run longitudinally with the chamber, rising one above the other from a broad central aisle to the walls on either side. To the right of the speaker, and in those seats nearest to him, sit the ministry of the day with their staunch supporters immediately behind; while to his left are the leaders of the opposition party with the rank and file of their adherents behind them. The more independently inclined members of the House occupy seats farther removed from the speaker's throne but are always necessarily located to the right or left of the broad central aisle. Thus there is clearly expressed in the physical form of the chamber the idea of a dual system of parties.

The organization and procedure of legislative bodies likewise reveals the same primary difference. The continental chambers, even though they conform to the general principles of ministerial government as it developed in England, display peculiarities which are incident to the group-party system. Instead of the Anglo-Saxon Speaker, who alone exercises the presidial authority, there is upon the continent an executive committee or board, known as the *bureau* in France, the *praesidium* in Germany. This body is responsible for the internal order of the chamber. It includes, besides the President of the Chamber, who usually presides, several vice-presidents and other officials sometimes called *quasitors*. It is made up of representatives of all the party-groups who for the time being are united in support of the govern-

ment. Debate in continental legislative bodies assumes quite a different character from that in England. In the House of Commons there is a great deal of informal discussion, questions and answers, "give and take," by members addressing their opponents across the chamber from their seats. Upon the continent one hears more set speeches which are often delivered from a reading desk, or tribune, which has no counterpart in Anglo-Saxon chambers. One gains the impression that the continental legislature is a forum in which the widest variety of views may be presented, while the Anglo-Saxon body lends itself to the criticism or defense of particular governmental proposals.

An examination of the membership of political groups in continental Europe outside the halls of legislation will disclose the significant fact that they are generally made up of individuals drawn from a particular social or economic class. In other words, the lines of party separation coincide in a large degree with those of economic and social cleavage. The old National Liberal party of Germany, for example, was made up almost entirely of the well-to-do middle class,—bankers, merchants, and manufacturers. The party known as the "Center" was a clerical group composed of peasants, and to some extent working-men, under the influence of the Catholic Church. The Conservative groups (the Junkers) were the aristocratic landowners. The Social Democrats were almost exclusively working men. If one attended a party meeting he would observe the generally uniform type of the audience. These meetings are often held in hotels where the management recoups itself for the use of the hall by serving beer and other refreshments. A National Liberal assembly would congregate in one of the better hotels of the city, and the well-dressed audience could

easily be characterized as upper middle-class. A Social Democratic meeting would be held in one of the cheaper hostgeries, and the observer could not mistake its working-class character. A meeting of the Center is likely to be convened on Sunday, and to be accompanied by religious services. The audience is of a uniformly peasant type in some sections, of working-class type in others, with numerous black-frocked priests in evidence.

It is a natural consequence of this coincidence between social and economic class lines and the lines which divide parties that there is a rigidity of membership in the political groups in continental parties that is not found in Anglo-Saxon countries. There, an individual's partisanship is very largely pre-determined by the social status which he occupies. Men are born into a party, and do not escape from it throughout their lives.

Another feature of the continental system is the presence of irreconcilable groups. These are generally nationalistic, such as the Poles, Alsations, and Danes in Germany before the war; and the Czechs in old Austria. In France the monarchists have constituted throughout the history of the Third Republic an irreconcilable group. The Clericals in Italy, or at least one section of them, have during much of the last fifty years also occupied an irreconcilable position. Such groups are to be distinguished by the fact that they oppose, not merely the ordinary policies and conduct of the government in power, but the very form and constitution of government. The Irish Nationalists in England were, before the war, in every sense, such an irreconcilable group, and their presence in the English party system was thoroughly anomalous. Upon the continent the existence of such parties is a more or less

normal feature of a system which is constructed upon the principle of social and economic stratification.

Whether these continental groups occupy positions of irreconcilability to the existing political order or not, they are always doctrinaire and intransigent. Their tenets are the logical application of consistent systems of political philosophy. Based upon fundamental generalizations, their programs are clear-cut and definite. There is no occasion for compromise. But, of course, their appeal is only to those individuals who share the same *Weltanschauung*.

No group, as such, ever expects to be entrusted with the control of government. None occupies, or is capable of gaining, a dominant position in the State. This results in a total lack of a sense of political responsibility. Opposition may be carried to any lengths, because there is no anticipation of being called upon to assume responsible control of government. The sobering realization, that the extreme positions taken in political controversy while in opposition may, like chickens, come home to roost when victory is secured, is entirely absent.

The support of a ministry in continental governments always springs from a coalition or bloc of several party groups, often divergent to a considerable extent in their principles and policies. When a ministry falls, there is no definite opposition ready to take its place. Instead a new arrangement of groups is formed, in many instances the same as were included in the previous coalition. Perhaps there is a shifting from right to left, or vice-versa, with the elimination of certain of the more extreme elements and the inclusion of others previously in opposition. Changes of ministry thus do not represent sharp alterations in policy, but usually merely a re-shuffling of the cards with

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some modification of emphasis in policy and program. Throughout this process the constituent party groups remain more or less stable. Even when included in the coalition which supports a ministry, there is no possibility of a group securing the complete adoption of its particular program. Compromise there must always be in government, and in the continental systems this compromise takes place among the groups which are drawn together in support of a particular ministry, not within the group itself.

As contrasted with these aspects of the continental party system, we find in England, in Canada and in the United States, that the lines which divide political parties run vertically, cutting across the horizontal lines of the economic and social strata of society. Even the Labor party, which in its origin seemed to constitute an exception to this rule in being a class-party has, as it gained strength, and particularly since it achieved power, displayed the typical characteristics of Anglo-Saxon party structure. It has broadened its appeal sufficiently to include individuals from every class and social status. It is no longer truly a party of workingmen. The Liberal and the Conservative parties in England, the Republican and Democratic parties in the United States, draw adherents from all sections of society. Their programs in consequence are vague and indefinite. They possess a flexibility which permits a constant influx and eflux of members with the changing tides of public opinion.

Another aspect of the bi-party system is the high sense of responsibility which the organized opposition always feels. Though it is the party of the "outs" it anticipates the swing of the pendulum by which it will become the party of the "ins," and accordingly does not push its opposition to extreme lengths. In the

English Government the importance and utility of "His Majesty's opposition" is well recognized. Along side the actual government there exists a potential government capable at any moment of taking control and carrying on the public services.

A further feature of the dual party system is the swing of the pendulum which results in the alternation in power of the two organized groups. Much attention has been given to this peculiarity of English and American politics. It is possible only because of the generally homogenous character of the population and the fact that party lines traverse the lines of economic and social cleavage. There is always a relatively independent element whose attachment to the standards of either party may easily be broken and which is always ready to shift its allegiance to the opposition. This in itself induces a certain degree of conservatism and moderation in party conflicts. In the exceptional cases where partisan groups, like the Irish Nationalists, are drawn solely from one social, economic or nationalistic element of the population, such independence does not exist, and party loyalty is so fundamental that only the slow and gradual process of economic or social change can alter the relative strength of such parties.

We must be cautious in passing judgment for or against these two widely different systems of party organization. The peculiar circumstances obtaining upon the continent of Europe and the psychology of the people may perhaps determine the group system as the better instrumentality for the achievement of political progress. There is, however, a reasonable ground for the conviction that in general the Anglo-Saxon peoples have displayed a higher degree of political capacity than others. This superiority

in no sense implies that in other respects Anglo-Saxons are a superior people. We must remember that the Romans, who far excelled the Greeks in the art of government, were distinctly their inferiors in the fields of philosophy, art and literature. The heritage which the modern world has derived from the ancient Greeks is certainly as important an element of our civilization as that which has come from the Romans. We are not warranted, therefore, in adjudging the continental peoples as inferior in other respects merely because we believe that the Anglo-Saxons possess qualities which make for success in politics. The British have frequently been called the Romans of the modern world, and they display this Roman characteristic not only in their imperial success, and in the marvelous achievement of the common law, but also in the ability and skill with which they operate the mechanism of government.

There appears to be some connection between this superior capacity in the field of politics and the bi-party system. The causes of this peculiar Anglo-Saxon aptitude may be in part historical. They may be connected in some degree with social and economic conditions, though these vary widely in different units of the Anglo-Saxon world. There is evidently, however, another more fundamental basis which is psychological.

It is a curious thing that Anglo-Saxon peoples generally also possess another distinctive trait or capacity. Whatever may be their habitat or social condition, Anglo-Saxons have always been enthusiastic sportsmen, and the sports to which they have devoted themselves chiefly have been of the co-operative type. Football, baseball, basketball, cricket, lacrosse, hockey, polo, rowing are all peculiarly Anglo-Saxon games. Where

they exist in other countries they have been clearly transplanted, and are evidently exotic. Upon the continent we find sports indeed, but they are of an individualistic sort,—motoring, aeroplane, the duel in Germany. The co-operative, team play, in which the individual sinks himself in the team and works for the common success of the team is peculiarly Anglo-Saxon. Not merely do we find in these co-operative sports a division into two teams which are pitted against each other, but the population generally seems to fall naturally into two sides which lend their support to their respective teams.

The spectacle of a great football game contains a lesson of great value to the student of political parties. Here on the oval within a vast stadium, occupied by tens of thousands of spectators, the two contesting teams fight for victory. One is the team of the "ins," is in possession of the ball, and is endeavoring to carry it toward its goal; the other is the team of the "outs," seeking to gain control of the ball, and to carry it in the opposite direction toward its goal. The game is played according to definite rules which are well recognized and obeyed. Like clock-work the members of the two organizations perform the several functions to which they are assigned. The contest proceeds under the wild enthusiasm of the multitude which itself is divided into contesting groups. The banners of blue and yellow mark the location of the more enthusiastic "rooters." When the contest closes, with victory perching on the standards of the one side, the partisans of the other frankly accept the verdict, and as good sportsmen calmly return to their homes to await another conflict. Even where, as is the case with commercialized baseball in the United States, there is no university or other institutional entity for which a

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team is considered to stand as the champion, we observe the same enthusiastic devotion on the part of the people to one side or the other. The "Cardinals" or the "Red Socks" have their legions of supporters who follow their success in the newspapers with an interest second to none, save that which attaches to the still greater and more absorbing game of politics.

Nothing comparable to such a spectacle is to be found on the continent of Europe, except as it has been imported from Anglo-Saxon countries. When the writer was a student at Heidelberg University in Germany, he used to wonder why the beautiful and adequate Neckar River was not utilized by the German students for boat-racing. Nowhere in America or in England could a great university be found situated in so favorable a position which did not have its crew. German students indeed used the river, but in other ways. Across the Neckar from the University, however, was a little English school where perhaps two score boys under English masters were preparing for Oxford and Cambridge. Such institutions are to be found dotted over the continent. During the season these youngsters could be seen every afternoon in their shells racing each other on the stretch between the two bridges. The significance of this did not strike the writer at the time, but he has frequently pondered on it since, and he is convinced that it exemplifies a fundamental difference in Anglo-Saxon and continental psychology.

British and American peoples conduct their politics as a game and indeed a co-operative or team sport. The same psychology which underlies the great national sports of England, Canada, Australia and America actuates the pursuit of politics. In the United States each quad-

rennial period witnesses a great sporting event,—the election of a president. For the time being even baseball sinks into a second place. The interest of the nation is concentrated on the contest between two organizations. The national conventions, corresponding to great football rallies in anticipation of the game, are events at which enthusiasm reaches its highest pitch. There the captains of the teams in the impending conflict are chosen; there the organization is perfected; and there the platforms are framed which have for their object primarily the elicitation of support. As compared with the more rational processes of politics upon the continent of Europe our system appears suffused with emotion and sentiment. It is not an atmosphere which encourages sober, reflective decisions. But when the ballots have been cast and the victory has been achieved, the defeated party, as good sportsmen, accept the result in much the same spirit and with much the same grace that characterizes a vanquished football team and its cohorts of adherents.

In Anglo-Saxon politics the man counts for more than the idea. We elevate our party leaders to the position of heroes. We surround them with the legend of invincibility. We review the most trivial incidents in the past lives of our party leaders as a story of unexampled achievements and exploits. We apotheosize them. On the continent it is the "idea" which dominates. Occasionally, it is true, a man like Mussolini may become a dictator, but such an event is entirely outside the course of ordinary party politics. It is not through the workings of party organization that such a one is lifted to a supreme elevation. There, programs count for far more than with us. As Professor Boutmy has suggested, the English people, and the same is true of the

English beyond the seas, are given to an androlatry quite foreign to the continental mind. If the rationalism of the continent becomes at times futilely doctrinaire, we must admit that the hero-worship and emphasis upon organization which characterizes political struggles with us reveals an equally erratic tendency. It is to be remarked, however, that from a pragmatic point of view, our bi-party system, in which politics are considered and conducted as a great game, appears to be superior.

Pastor Friedrich Naumann, the leader of the national socialists, in 1905, wrote a book called "Democracy and Imperialism" which received considerable attention in Germany. His chief contention was that the bi-party system is preferable to the group system where opinion is irretrievably dissipated and scattered. He proposed for Germany a reform in its party organization on the basis of the economic structure of the country. The two fundamental economic interests he conceived as agriculture and industry. These should be organized into two opposing political parties, each of which should include both operators and employes. Thus would Germany evolve from the ineptitude and ineffectiveness of the group system to the higher level of a bi-party organization. In this study, however, Naumann failed to appreciate the fact that it is something more than merely two parties which characterizes the system in America and England. He failed to understand that Anglo-Saxon parties cut across the lines of economic and social cleavage, and in proposing his bi-party scheme for Germany he would have erected a system in which the one party or the other would have been permanently in power and could only have been overthrown by a fundamental change in the relative importance of agriculture

and industry,—a change which could be only accomplished through slow and gradual economic processes.

This proposal of Friedrich Naumann suggests a possible third type of party organization which would be dual in character, but in which the lines of party cleavage would conform to those of economic and social classes. Indeed this conception of political parties is inherent in the socialist movement wherever it has appeared. Socialism is based upon the notion of a class conflict and looks toward the dictatorship of the proletariat. Were it to actually succeed in achieving its goal the community would be divided into two great parties: the proletariat, in possession of the government; and all other elements of the population organized as a permanent opposition. The socialist ideal, to be sure, anticipates an eventual disappearance of these non-working-class elements and the leveling of society to a general proletarian basis. In the contest for control, however, and for a considerable period after victory has been secured, the socialists anticipate the continuance of two great class-parties separated by an impassable gulf because of their fundamentally different economic bases.

The Anglo-Saxon bi-party system requires for its success a generally homogeneous population. Where the community is rent by deep nationalistic, economic, or social differences, it is impossible to unite men under the vague and evasive banners of what we may call pure political parties. Where economic, religious or other social groups are highly class conscious, there develops an insistence for the expression of their desires in the form of specially constituted class-parties. Instead of politics being pursued as a great game with a large play element, political struggle assumes a much more serious and ruthless character. There is not the same

willingness to accept defeat as good sportsmen, and there is always likely to be a tendency to appeal from ballots to bullets.

It is a question of no small interest to the student of American politics whether, with the manifest increase in complexity and heterogeneity of our national life, our inherited bi-party system may not be threatened by the emergence of numerous economic and social class-parties. Do the agricultural bloc, the Ku Klux Klan and the Labor movement in the United States portend a break-up of our two old parties and a transition to something comparable to the continental group system? Hitherto labor has certainly not developed any significant political organization. Like other elements in the community it has divided its support between the two old parties. The farmers also, while impelled on occasion by adverse economic conditions to unite politically, have generally played the game according to the traditional rules. When the emergency has passed they have quickly reverted to their ordinary party allegiances. The Ku Klux Klan is not a novel movement in American politics. We have had similar phenomena in the past,—the Know-Nothing party, the Anti-Masonic party, the American Protective Association were all sporadic movements based on an intolerant attitude toward particular groups in the community. We may probably expect the Ku Klux Klan, like its predecessors, to disappear when our *post bellum* hysteria has subsided. The evidence is not conclusive that our well-established bi-party system is in danger. Modifications it will undoubtedly experience. Third parties will continue to rise in the future as they have in the past to be absorbed in the old parties, or perchance to supersede them. Non-partisan movements, such as the Anti-saloon League,

may play an increasingly important part in our political life. But the situation does not justify the prediction, which one often hears, that our bi-party system is doomed.

It is sometimes asserted that the bi-party system in the United States is threatened from another angle. With the grant of the suffrage to women there has been included, as participants in the game, a feminine element previously not present. It is sometimes maintained that like the major sports, politics is essentially masculine; that the psychology which underlies political contests is a masculine psychology. It is the male element of our population who take the chief interest in our athletic contests, and it has been this element which in the past has played, and has lent its support to the great political game. Will women develop the same sporting interest in politics? Does the evidence not indicate that they will either view politics with indifference or when really interested will take their responsibilities far more seriously than men? Can we not already discern two classes of women: those who take no interest at all in politics and are utterly indifferent to political contests; and those who take so much interest that they are not good partisans. The League of Women Voters perhaps represents best this latter point of view. Perhaps it is significant that no similar organization has ever developed among men. Too much weight ought not to be given to such suggestions. We must, however, recognize that there is some difference in the psychology of men and women, and that this is likely to affect to a certain degree the processes and methods of political action.

The present is a period of political disillusionment. To thoughtful men and women the two old parties appear intel-

lectually and morally bankrupt. We can discover no important differences in policy between them. Within the ranks of both are to be found liberals and conservatives, —men as far apart as Borah and Coolidge; as McAdoo, Al. Smith and Underwood. Neither seems capable of really solving any of the numerous serious problems that confront us. The proposal of a third party naturally makes a strong appeal to those who feel a thorough-going disgust with the spineless futility, the lack of character and purpose, the obvious emptiness of both the old political organizations. American history is punctuated at frequent intervals by move-

ments of insurgency similar to that of 1924. These revolts doubtless serve a useful purpose in forcing a somewhat more intelligible realignment, a more responsible attitude, on the two major parties with respect to important political questions. But they do not seriously threaten the bi-party system as such, nor do they constitute a valid cause for a verdict of condemnation. To understand the strength of this system we must study the psychology in which it is rooted, and to appraise its worth we must, on the basis of a comparison with other existing party systems, apply the standards of pragmatism.

TRAINING FOR PUBLIC SERVICE IN EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES¹

CALEB PERRY PATTERSON

THE UNITED STATES

FROM an examination of the catalogues of the leading colleges and universities in the United States giving courses in government and politics, it was found that thirty-three are teaching public administration. They are distributed as to section as follows: Eleven in the East: Johns Hopkins, Harvard, Yale, Cornell, Columbia, College of the City of New York, Syracuse, Dartmouth, New York, University, Smith College, Georgetown University and George Washington University; eleven in the Northwest: Northwestern, Illinois, Michigan, Cincinnati, Indiana, Iowa, Western Reserve, Wisconsin, Chicago, and Minnesota; three in the South: West Virginia, Missouri, Washington University, St.

Louis; three in the Southwest: Oklahoma, Utah, and Texas; and five in the West: Kansas, Nebraska, California, Stanford, and the University of Washington.

Thirteen courses in national administration are given, covering the usual subject matter of the executive powers, the cabinet, diplomatic and consular service in some instances, the various boards and commissions, the political party as an administrative agent, the state governments as administrative agents.

Eighteen courses in municipal administration are outlined, covering the functions of the various departments of city government, budget making, etc.

Eleven courses in state administration are scheduled: six courses in the consular and diplomatic service; six in so called public administration; three in colonial administration; two in international administration; one in public administra-

¹ First part—Training in Europe—appeared in March number of *Social Forces*.

tion. There are a goodly number of courses on the law of public officers or administrative law.

In so far as a catalogue description of these courses can be relied on for their true character, it is apparent that they are a mere modification of the old-time courses in government. The modification doubtless in many instances is more a matter of paper than fact. While such a modification is at least a recognition by American colleges of the need of expert training in public administration, it is unqualifiedly true that there are practically no qualified teachers of public administration in the United States. Public administration is like procedure at law, it cannot be taught by a mere theorist. Such teaching is not only inadequate on the informational side, but is usually so dead that it does not secure the proper reaction from the student.

The best teaching of courses in public administration has undoubtedly been done in schools of education. They have actually prepared the expert school administrator in the person of the city superintendent of public instruction. It has not been more than a decade or so ago since this officer was the mere agent of the city government in solving the all-important problem of the patronage. He and in turn his teachers were selected on the basis of the interests of the machine. When reformers suggested that training, experience and ability generally should be the sole consideration in solving the problem of the personnel of the teaching and administrative forces of the public schools, they were met by the same hue and cry that now confronts students of public administration. All reforms have been characterized as impossible by the crowd that was profiting from the existing condition.

The fact is that now the city school

systems throughout the nation are practically free from politics. There are seldom any scandals connected with their operation. The superintendent now may come from anywhere and is given power to nominate his employes, which usually amounts to election, and they are responsible to him. He, in method of selection, training, promotion, tenure of office and retirement, is very similar to the German burgomaster. Practically as much may be said of the state superintendent of public education, the president of the state university, and the Commissioner of Education of the United States. Even in states where state superintendents of public instruction are elected, we have accepted the principle that only educators, trained, both experimentally and academically, in school administration should offer for these places.

It needs to be emphasized that all these officers are agents of public administration of most important phases of government. Why are the other phases of government different?

This same practice is true to a less degree in judicial administration. Only lawyers are admitted to judgeships in either the national or state judiciaries. The elective method and the low salaries are primarily responsible for the inexperience found in the personnel of the bench. The point here is that we have accepted the principle that this service is professional and that the trained expert should sit on the bench. Undoubtedly the training received in the law schools in practice and procedure has helped to make the American judge.

The University of Wisconsin has an arrangement with the State Civil Service Commission by which its students of the right type may secure a half time employment in the departments of the state government, working on special problems assigned to them and receiving a fixed

compensation for their work. They are given credit by the University toward graduation for the work they do. This furnishes a real opportunity for getting in touch with high grade prospective government employes and of stimulating training for public service.²

The Civil Service Commission of Wisconsin is giving courses on state administration to the state employes. These courses cover the work of the various boards, bureaus, divisions and commissions of the state and are given by the officials of these agents of administration.

The University of Texas is giving a course in judicial administration in which the students are assigned such topics as the petit jury in civil cases, procedure in criminal cases, the selection of a jury, the place of the judge or the jury in trial by jury. The students make a study of these problems in both their theoretical and practical workings. They are asked to witness court procedure a certain number of hours per week. The judges of the state courts appear before them once a month and discuss phases of judicial administration. The laboratory side is supplementary to the regular lectures and class discussions.

The university that is teaching what appears to be the most scientifically organized courses in public administration is the University of Michigan, through the Detroit Bureau of Government Research, which is apparently the only one in the nation connected with a university that is combining the laboratory and lecture method, an application to a degree of the case method to problems of political science as used in law schools and the Harvard School of Business Administration.

The Foreword to the syllabus of the course in municipal administration given

through the bureau states its purpose as follows:

This course is, therefore, to study the conduct of municipal activities—not what such activities are or their history. It is meant to give a citizen or an official a bowing acquaintance with the problems arising from the operation of a city, not to make him a trained technician in the solving of all of these problems.

As a means of such study there will be made available to students such advantages of field training as can be secured from discussions of field problems, acquaintance with types of field organizations, and a limited amount of field work. Students will be asked to prepare theses on important topics, and by research reading to familiarize themselves with problems raised. This work will be supplemented by weekly lectures and discussions.

The institution that is best functioning in the teaching of courses of public administration in the United States is, in my opinion, the National Institute of Public Administration at New York City, established in April, 1921.

What, then, in conclusion is the situation in the United States in regard to training for public service? It is clear that a number of forces are making for a more efficient public administration. The expert school administrator has demonstrated that there can be efficiency in public service. The city manager has taught the same lesson in politics by putting efficiency and economy into municipal administration. Great Britain's and Europe's examples are stimulating. Educational institutions, always anxious to serve the public, are searching and experimenting for better methods of reaching the public service. But most of all is the revolt of the modern business man, who knows what efficiency is and who is going to refuse to pay the bills and suffer the handicaps of a blind and blundering public administration. The national slogan of the last presidential campaign, "More business in government," un-

² *Good Government*, vol. XXXVII, No. 8, p. 121.

doubtedly was a reflection of the influence of the business expert, who feels that government is not primarily a matter of legislation, armies, navies, larger appropriations, but of trained administrators who can see over their desk into the pitfalls to which the life of the nation is subject and who can devise plans for evading these hazards.

The City Managers' Association is stressing training for public service. In discussing the problem of personnel it says: "It is quite true that native ability and other personal attributes may equip one man, without education and experience, better for the duties of the head of a department or chief of a bureau than do the education and experience of another. I feel sure, however, that this is the exceptional case and not the rule. It has been said that a goat cannot be educated to be a sheep, but he can by this means be made a much better goat."³

While it is undoubtedly true that there is much more extensive provision for the teaching of public administration in the United States than in Great Britain, it is equally certain that public administration in the United States is not as efficient as in Great Britain. The reason for this is not that formal instruction is not valuable for public service, but rather that Great Britain's civil service always contains a large corps of expert administrators to which new employees can be added. The civil service of Great Britain is truly professional, and, therefore, offers a life career to the Briton, who always considers it when he is deciding what he shall do for life. This lack of a weathered system of experts already in the service, under whose tutelage an entrant can acquire training, makes formal instruction more necessary in the United States than

in Great Britain. The rapid development of civil or municipal life in the United States under new and ever changing conditions calls for a higher type of civil employee than is required in a more conservative country. There is no nation in the world that is performing as many experiments in government and trying as earnestly to solve its problems as the United States. Yet this vital and important task is being undertaken with amateur administrators.

There are at least four conditions necessary to solve this problem of an efficient public administration:

(1) The government employee must, as in Europe, adopt a professional attitude toward his government as the minister toward the church or the professor toward the college. He must quit exploiting the institution that he is supposed to be serving. The American public must be taught this lesson. Europe is leagues in advance of us in this regard.

(2) Permanent tenure in office on the same basis as a private enterprise must become the rule. Government must adopt a professional attitude toward its employee if it in turn expects professional service from him.

(3) A system of promotion of juniors in the ranks on a basis of apprenticeship, efficiency and further training must be established.

(4) Broad training for initiation into public administration must be required and provided.

The last factor which is our special concern is a complex within itself. There are several conditions which must be met before American educational institutions can supply the type of training necessary for public administration. The following suggestions are offered:

(1) There must be developed a set of trained teachers of public administration.

³ Eighth Year Book of the City Manager's Association, 1922, p. 111.

This training must consist of not only courses on the theoretical side of administration but actual service in the employment of the Government. Doctoral dissertations on administrative problems should be encouraged and a certain amount of credit toward a doctor's degree might be accepted for service in public administration, or a degree in administration might be established as in business administration, which would require a period of public service for its completion.

2. There must be written a set of texts, manuals and monographs on public administration. There is the most pressing need for satisfactory material in this field. The Bureau of Government Research at Washington City is rapidly meeting this demand in the field of national administration.

3. Funds of bureaus of research and departments of government must be secured to further research and its publication. The publication of specialized monographs on phases of public administration is a prerequisite to the writing of general texts on municipal, state and national administration, and publishing houses at the present time are interested in only commercial publications.

4. Departments of government, bureaus of research and institutes of public administration must establish some sort of contact with civil service commissions and government employees, by which the

official class can receive training in public administration at a nominal cost while it is in the service, as is being done by the Wisconsin Civil Service Commission.

5. Boards of trustees and presidents of colleges and universities must be persuaded that the educational institution has a distinct mission in preparing men and women to render efficient service to society. It should be recognized that this is the *raison d'être* of such institutions. Better office equipment, stenographic service, fewer hours of teaching, should be granted the teaching staff in departments of government, that research in the field of public administration may be conducted along scientific lines.

One of the most eminent students of government emphasized the problem of administration in popular government as follows:

Presidents, governors, and mayors certainly cannot be experts in all matters with which they are called upon to deal, nor, as a rule, are they thoroughly expert in any of them; and in fact this is generally true of officers elected to administer public affairs. We cannot, therefore, avoid the question whether they do, or do not, need expert assistance if the government is to be efficiently conducted. The problem is not new, for the world struggled with it two thousand years ago. The fate of institutions has sometimes turned upon it, and so may the great experiment we are trying today—that of the permanence of democracy on a large scale.⁴

⁴ Lowell, A. Lawrence, *American Political Science Review*, VI, no. 1, p. 45.

GUIDES TO PERIODICAL READING

GEORGE B. LOGAN

The three powers of government and their separation are the first articles of our political belief. "The Constitutional Trinity" of legislature, executive, and

judiciary, equal in power and distinct in function, though founded on misconceptions of Montesquieu and Blackstone, denied by Franklin and Tom Paine, and

never conforming to the realities of American politics, remains a potent dogma and is even being carried over to industrial life. Yet in fact, declares Leland H. Jenks in the February *American Mercury*, the party system, our newer administration bureaus and commissions, and the very language of the constitution itself have mocked the true faith and revealed government to be instead a coherent whole, divisible for action into as many parts as may be convenient. Where the separation of powers is actually maintained it more often than not causes irresponsibility and confusion.

Walter Lippmann's recent scepticism of the liberal dogmas finds expression, in *Harper's* for March, in asking "Why Should the Majority Rule?" The democratic view of life is based ultimately on the old mystical belief in the equal worth of every human soul. But, applied to practical politics, this belief has lost its spiritual truth and, becoming degraded into the idea that one man's tastes and opinions are as good as another's, is used to deny any order of human values whatever. In sober fact, fifty-one per cent of the people possess no divine inspiration of right, but rule simply by that milder form of force which counts heads instead of breaking them for a decision. Accepting the loudest popular voice is a more or less satisfactory device of government, but where, as recently in Tennessee, it is invoked as a sacred mandate to education, democracy is made at once ridiculous and dangerous by going beyond its powers.

Agreeing with Mr. Lippmann that the majority principle is simply a convenient rule of law and contains no inherent ethical validity, John Gilbert Heinberg traces its history in the *American Political Science Quarterly* for February. Few traces

of it are to be found before the classical Greek era, but from that time to the present it has been employed in popular and representative assemblies, committees, corporations, law courts, and church councils. Its greatest enemies have been the principle of unanimity—which survives notably in jury verdicts—and of voting or weighing votes according to rank. It can seldom prove successful without provisions for the accurate counting of votes, the presence of group solidarity, an inclination to discuss and compromise, and conviction of the need for concerted action.

Political research during the last twenty years has centered about the problem of the city, party organization, constitutional law, international relations, and public administration, as well as notable contributions to theory. The unfortunate spread of intolerance must be counteracted by more investigation and the teaching of current issues of political action. Future advances, thinks Charles E. Merriam in the same number, must be toward greater intensity of inquiry and a linking up of political knowledge not only with economics and sociology but with the sciences of physical relations, of life, and of mind that may help to create a fuller understanding of social behavior. Perhaps the first of our needs is for an integration of knowledge, such as this suggests, on the broadest lines.

Five hundred years behind Europe, the Moslem world is today passing through a strikingly similar renaissance. The war, the Wilsonian doctrine of self-determination, and the exhaustion of the western powers have all made it possible. In Turkey, Egypt, Palestine, Syria, and Morocco the spirit of nationalism is stirring and modern states are taking shape

out of what was, in theory, a medieval world empire. Religious freedom is evidenced by the abolition of the Caliphate and the spread of rationalism. An intellectual revolution is under way, new social and economic conditions have suddenly arisen, and even woman is shaking herself free from the past. Foreign control, thinks A. E. Prince in the April *Yale Review*, will not much longer be endured.

We say there are too many laws. Yet without a principle of elimination the complaint is useless. The causes of modern social legislation lie in the sweeping changes of economic life. Technical improvements, business organization, scientific discovery, the increase in population, and the diffusion of wealth all create new problems that require new laws to make them serve the public interest. Somebody's liberty is of course limited in every case, but only that liberty in other forms, and over a wider field, may become possible. It is toward the blessings of freedom, and not the largest unqualified amount of it, that civilized life tends. Thus Henry W. Farnam, on "Law, Liberty, and Progress," in the same magazine.

One of the most astonishing activities in present-day America is the rewriting of school histories to grind an anti-British axe. The pseudo-historians and the heresy hunters, backed by an imposing array of patriotic and educational societies, have been in numerous states trying to replace accurate and scholarly text books with those that ostensibly promote love of country, build character, and incidentally teach some history in an optimistic strain. Harold U. Faulkner writes in the February *Harper's* of this campaign, comparable to the anti-evolution crusade, and of the thoroughly

Prussianized volumes that the American Legion is soon to foist on forty-eight unsuspecting school systems. The result of this propaganda for "Perverted American History" is likely to be a bigoted and stereotyped nationalism, a disagreeable case of swelled head on a continental scale.

Another of the *Forum's* spirited debates, this time on the registration of aliens, in the March number. Henry Pratt Fairchild, in part responsible for the bill before Congress on that subject, believes registration to be a means of individualizing the immigrant, giving him legal identity and protection in his legitimate pursuits. It protects the nation, moreover, in making effective the deportation of those foreigners who are "bootlegged" into the country. Oswald Garrison Villard, on the other hand, who claims as a liberal to be conserving the true American tradition, pleads for the passing America that has been an asylum for political refugees and poor but ambitious emigrants from all lands. To turn the police loose upon them would be an act of sheer tyranny and the acme of irresponsible bureaucracy.

There have been four chief "Methods of Criminological Inquiry." The classical school, founded by Beccaria and Bentham, have used abstract principles in order to rationalize and humanize systems of punishment, a method that results in a too rigid, legalistic attitude toward crime. The scientific survey, as applied notably to Cleveland and Cook County, has done much to reveal the shortcomings of our penal systems. Statistics, scarcely yet available in this country, furnish the means of measuring the volume and distribution of crime and some of its effects on society. It is

through the case method, however, which treats conduct and personality as the products both of innate character and environmental influence, that we shall get nearest to the bottom of crime. So Author Evans Wood in the *Journal of Criminal Law* for November.

One wonders if the great American people are at last getting excited over prohibition. The magazines almost make one think so. In the February *Atlantic* is staged a lively debate on "The Irrepressible Conflict" between Frederick E. Johnson and Morton P. Fisher. The *Virginia Quarterly* for April contains J. G. deR. Hamilton's striking arraignment of enforcement methods; and in the January *Edinburgh Review* Elmer E. Stoll takes up the ungrateful task of exposing his country's shame to the homeland of good Scotch. For the defence read Allan L. Benson in *Good Housekeeping* for April, who punctures most of the antis' arguments as propaganda; while Albert Levitt in the January *South Atlantic Quarterly* disposes confidently of their four leading hallucinations.

So with lawlessness in general. But here the eloquence is all on one side: we do not hear from those who pursue crime as a livelihood or a vested interest or a sentimental right. The March *Survey Graphic* opens with a broadside of a half a dozen articles on "Crime Waves and Crime Remedies." Lawrence Veiller

completes in the April *World's Work* a series of five studies on the same alarming tide, why it continues to rise, and how to check it. In the *Atlantic* for February John B. Waite relates an actual demonstration in the control of crime; Theodore E. Burton offers a practical plan in the January *Current History* for curbing it; and the January-February *Journal of Applied Sociology* carries J. L. Gillin's analysis of its deeper social foundations. In *Collier's* for March 27 W. G. Shepherd begins a devastating portrayal of the part played by prisons in the making of young criminals.

But can we get to the bottom of our flair for lawlessness? Blaming foreigners, or sentimentalizing over criminals, or lamenting our too many laws is one of the most popular of sports, by Charles Platt, writing acutely in the March *Century*, looks back to that primitive individualism which society has never been able to tame. Science and civilization are leaping ahead while man creeps, finding himself reborn into youth today amid a world of congested cities, weak education, scoundrels on horseback, gnawing leisure, and easy money. So crime becomes the line of least resistance; but the deepest of all its causes is the loss of faith. We have not enough science to forge a religion out of, and yet we have too much to retain our old dogmas and morality. Thus adrift in modern life and emotionally impoverished, we sink from unbelief to pessimism and cynicism and so to utter recklessness.

SOCIAL INDUSTRIAL RELATIONSHIPS

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

THE COMMERCIAL ADVERTISEMENT AND SOCIAL PATHOLOGY

GORDON B. HANCOCK

"IT PAYS to advertise" is a dictum so generally accepted in the field of business that it has been appropriated in almost every sphere of human endeavor. The advertisement seems limited not by any point of diminishing returns but only by the financial resources of the advertisers; it is not a wonder therefore that advertising is not only an art and science highly specialized, but a business of ever increasing volume. The old maxim,

Early to bed and early to rise
Makes a man healthy, wealthy and wise.

has been appropriately revised to read thus:

Early to bed and early to rise
Hustle all day and advertise.

The rise and growth of advertising agencies throughout the country is significant and there are evidences everywhere that the business of advertising is booming with not the faintest sign of depression. The one hundred and thirty advertising agencies that compose the American Association of Advertisers are doing in the aggregate an annual business of more than \$250,000,000.¹ Henry Ford, one of the latest of the great manufac-

ters to resort to extensive advertising, planned to spend \$7,000,000² in 1924. It is estimated that the general increase in advertising in the United States was 20 per cent greater in 1924 than for the preceding year.³ In 1921 fifty of the leading advertisers made the following outlays for advertising:⁴

7	spent between	\$100,000 and \$300,000
19	spent between	300,000 and 400,000
8	spent between	400,000 and 500,000
7	spent between	500,000 and 600,000
6	spent between	600,000 and \$1,000,000
3	spent more than	1,000,000 each

Ten years ago Starch estimated that the annual expenditure for advertising would approximate \$900,000,000,⁴ and the total outlay for advertising in 1923 is placed at more than \$1,000,000,000.⁵ That the total ten years hence will be staggering there is every reason to predict. Advertising is the religion of business and he who questions its unlimited sway must be prepared to answer the charges of commercial heresy and industrial apostasy; yet when the advertisement is examined in its ultimate social implications as well

¹ *Printers Ink*, May 22, 1922.

² *New York Times*, July 9, 1922.

³ Starch, *Advertising, Its Principles, Practices, and Teachings*, Chap. XXIII.

⁴ *Crain's Market Data Book and Directory*, 1923, p. 29.

⁵ *Crain's Market Data Book and Directory*, 1923, p. 29.

as in its immediate business results, there may be some justification for the student of social conditions who attempts to trace advertising in some of its remoter ramifications.

The mere fact that advertising produces results in the business world is no proof that these results are always in consonance with the common weal, neither is it sufficient assurance that advertising is not subject to quantitative as well as qualitative abuses. While it is true that the literature on this subject is growing, a casual examination of such literature reveals the fact that the writers seldom have other than the business point of view and the general assumption throughout is that advertising is a business good and therefore a social good save in those cases where it is grossly dishonest or unduly exaggerated. To safeguard the advertisement from flagrant abuse a Vigilance Committee was appointed in 1912⁶ whose duty it was to keep the advertisement ethically pure, but to date no provision has been made for the restriction, limitation and graduation of the advertisement.

As early as 1895 Mr. Evans, an Englishman, wrote an article entitled "Advertising as A Trespass on the Public," in which he attempted to point out some of the dangers resident in excessive advertising. However, he did not attempt to make any scientific analysis of the psychological elements involved but rather confined his attack to the advertisement as a disfigurement of the highways along which bill-boards were multiplying so rapidly throughout England.⁷ Mr. Evans characterized the highway advertisements as "engines of torment;" yet such criticism today would hardly be

warranted since many of these bill-boards are highly artistic in their conception and in many instances add beauty and interest. It cannot be denied, however, that Mr. Evans thirty years ago sensed the intrusive nature of excessive advertising and was bold enough to suggest a heavy tax and appropriate legislation which might tend to save the public from the abuses of the ubiquitous advertisement.

The dominant motive in advertising is not the public welfare but more and better business. Although many social advantages have resulted from advertising, it cannot be denied that these have been by-products of business rather than its main objective. It must be further granted that advertising provides one of the dynamics of our social life, yet this should not necessarily blind us to the evils which inhere in excessive advertising. One of the weaknesses of the advertisement is its utter lack of discrimination between necessities and luxuries, between the man with means of purchase and the man without them and we shall show in what follows that the reactions of these two classes of men are widely different in their ultimate implication. Furthermore the advertisers seem to disregard the ultimate effects of the consumption of advertised commodities. In no field of human endeavor does the principle of proportionality seem so foreign as in the field of advertising; for such articles as chewing-gum and soft drinks—articles of questionable importance—are advertised quite as largely, and more so in many cases, as the more staple commodities. A hypothetical situation will illustrate the principle in question: If a banker, a cigarette manufacturer, a liquor merchant and an automobile dealer spend each an equal amount for advertising; if each realizes an equal amount in profits traceable to advertising

⁶ Starch, *Advertising, Its Principles, Practices, and Teachings*, Chap. XXIII.

⁷ The *Nineteenth Century Magazine*, June, 1895.

it is obvious that their contributions to their community are not the same. The advertising of the automobile dealer may have influenced many to mortgage their homes thereby laying the foundation of a homeless old age; from the liquor merchant's advertising, drunkenness with all its evil concomitants may have been foisted upon a hundred erstwhile happy homes; the advertising of the cigarette manufacturer may have made of many men and boys inveterate smokers for life, while the banker through his advertising may have instilled in many the principles of thrift and economy. Here the outlay for advertising was the same, the profits therefrom were the same, but the results were quite different. This variability in results makes questionable the general assumption that truthfulness is the only condition of unlimited advertising.

Society takes due cognizance of what should be advertised and when and where, but how much to advertise seems to be nobody's business; and the principle of proportionality seems to be utterly disregarded although such disregard seems fraught ultimately with evils which lay hold on the very foundation of our social order. Is the unlimited sway of advertising compatible with society's highest good? Does business interest always coincide with the common weal? Is the business justification of the commercial advertisement a sufficient social justification? An affirmative answer to these questions is not as satisfying as some assume, for, while the bootlegging business is in many ways profitable and squares with the economics of business, its ultimate social benefits are highly questionable.

Our first major contention is that excessive scientific advertising takes undue advantage of the public. This is the day of "crowds" and "publics" and "panics"

and our very mode of life predisposes to suggestion. More and more the suggestibility of the people is heightened thus more and more suggestion rather than reason becomes the dynamic of our every day life. Psychologists have long since agreed that the many are moved by suggestion while only the few are moved by reason in the ordinary intercourse of life. They have further stressed the preponderance of the subconscious in our mental life as compared with the conscious; and this fact is indicative of the latitude which suggestion has in the province of human behavior. Advertisements are accordingly devised to make suggestion effective and we find them of two kinds when divided according to function, namely, the "long circuit" advertisement which appeals to reason and the "short circuit" advertisement which appeals to the instincts. The latter type is also termed the "human nature" advertisement because it appeals more to the basic elements in human nature and especially to the emotions. But says Starch, "In a list of advertised articles not more than 20 per cent showed the 'long circuit' appeal."⁸ The inference here indicates how few advertisements are designed to appeal to the reason, and "advertising is not so much to convince as to suggest."⁹ Scott bears rather definitely on this point when he says, "In some way we think we are performing a deliberate act when we purchase an advertised article, while in fact we have never deliberated at all on the subject. The idea is suggested by advertisements and the impulsiveness of human nature enforces the suggested idea; hence the desired actions follow in a way unknown to the purchaser."¹⁰ The advertisement

⁸ Starch, *Advertising Its Principles, Practices, and Teachings*, p. 242.

⁹ Scott, *The Psychology of Advertising*, p. 83.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

thus becomes a powerful instrument of suggestion and because of the suggestibility of human nature and the corresponding indisposition to compare and criticize, the guard of the average man is lowered and he is peculiarly exposed to the subtle psychological thrusts and parries of the advertiser.

In appealing to the suggestibility of human nature, the advertisement takes undue advantage of the masses, for among these the predisposition to react to suggestion is not counteracted by the inhibitions that obtain in life on the higher levels; hence society is attacked at its weakest point. The advertisement is doubly menacing because it is deliberately conceived and scientifically executed. Scientific advertising has far outstripped the scientific reactions of the public and it seems both unfair and dangerous for the masses to be continuously exposed unawares to the appeals of the advertisement which is well-nigh irresistible because of its application of scientific principles. The advertiser is no longer guessing, for "enough has been learned from practical experience to demonstrate that advertising, or the power to make men think and act in accordance with the wishes of the advertiser, is based upon well-defined principles which are coming more and more to be understood."¹¹ So scientifically has the exploitableness of human suggestibility been calculated that Starch and others in this field have worked out tables setting forth very definitely the "pulling power" of the advertisement. The fact that there is a "pulling power," coupled with the fact that such "pull" is in accordance with well-established scientific principles, makes resistance impossible unless it, too, is in accord with scientific principles, which is far from being the case with the masses.

¹¹ Stelzle, *Principles of Successful Advertising*.

Unfortunately for the public it does not possess the knowledge of a scientific "resisting power" by which it can counteract the appeal of the advertisement. When we add to the table of "pulling power" the table of persuasiveness¹² contrived by another expert in this field, we begin to see more clearly the element of irresistibility in the modern commercial advertisement. Scientific advertising takes into account such details as laws of contiguity, laws of sequence, laws of feeling tones and laws of fashion, form and arrangement; color schemes and word formation, typography and illustration; whether the appeal is for women or men, whether a "human nature" or a "reason why" is most effective. Due consideration is given to such fine points of psychology as attention and memory value of color, size, shape, repetition and bordering; color preference, harmony, balance, proportion and preferred shapes of figures; the time, whether December or August; the position, whether right or left side of page, whether above or below. Then there are such subtle distinction as estimated differences of judgment steps in contiguous or serial advertisement and the aesthetics of the "golden section" receives emphasis. With such scientific manipulation of psychological principles the helplessness of the masses becomes apparent and especially since "the mission of the advertisement is to persuade men and women to act in a way that will be of advantage to the advertiser."¹³

The psychologist knows how to compel attention, strengthen the memory and insure responses. The scientifically contrived advertisement has a compelling power, and this fact is the fundamental pre-supposition of the modern advertisers. Hence we read, "Psychology helps the

¹² Tipper, Hotchkiss, Hollingsworth and Parsons, *Advertising Principles and Practices*.

¹³ Blanchard, *The Essentials of Advertising*, p. 7.

advertiser by giving him the laws of the various mental processes; how to get and hold the attention of the reader; how to arrange the advertisement so it will be easily read; how to make the commodity remembered by those who read the advertisement; when the "reason why" copies are to be used and the kind of argument most likely to appeal; what are the desirable emotions to arouse and how to arouse them, and finally most important of all, how to bring about the desired action on the part of the reader."¹⁴ Although William James predicates freedom of the will on attention, the fact remains that the attention itself can be compelled when struck right, and furthermore we know that "according to the laws of dynamogenesis that actions can be reasonably guaranteed, for every and any sensation will cause movement of some sort."¹⁵ These movements are the result of brain stimulation and are automatic and reflex and it thus comes about that "If an idea is held firmly in the focus of consciousness to the exclusion of all others, it must result in actions."¹⁶ And if to this fact we add that "It is not necessary to show the value of the actions or the necessity, but merely to present the proper stimulus and the actions are forthcoming immediately,"¹⁷ we can see in the advertisement not only an element of intrusiveness but of finality as well. This should place upon the advertiser a responsibility that is at once grave and far-reaching.

From what has gone before it is doubtless clear that the advertisement is scientific in its appeal and it is doubtless equally clear that the masses do not react scientifically and herein lies the real

danger to the public. The psychological battle between the advertisers and the public finds the latter fighting at a grave disadvantage; and although the relation is competitive it is a competition between unequal and the various degrees of inequality complicate this relation. In the battle of business the advertisers are entrenched behind the ramparts of science while the general public is forced to fight in the open, for the science of the advertisers is so far in advance of the science of the public that a ceaseless conflict seems unfair and dangerous. The haunting influence of the display advertisement coupled with its "compelling power" makes a combination that beguiles the unwary public into "want-snares" the extrication from which is conducive to social pathology as we shall later see. We may assume that the advertisement is a competitive weapon in the hands of business interests who are alike conversant with its possibilities and therefore not necessarily directed against the masses; yet this leaves masses exposed in the "No Man's Land" of business while the competing dealers are fighting to the death from behind the breast-works of science.

Borsodi indicts the excessive advertising on economic grounds thus: "It creates wasteful conflicts, it demoralizes distribution, it changes the basis of profit from greater values to greater advertising resources and raises the producers' profits."¹⁸ When the competition in values has been shifted to mere competition in advertising, competition as a regulator of prices becomes ineffective and the unwary public suffers accordingly. The great volume of advertising, added to its highly scientific execution and the prevailing assumption that it is a business good and therefore socially justified, places the public

¹⁴ Adams, *Advertising and Its Mental Laws*, p. 30.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 278.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 311.

¹⁷ Scott, *The Psychology of Advertising*, p. 79.

¹⁸ Borsodi, *National Advertising versus Prosperity*, p. 105.

at a dangerous disadvantage, and this brings us to our second major contention, namely, that excessive advertising is conducive to social pathology.

When human suggestibility has been scientifically preyed upon and its trade possibilities sufficiently exploited, and the public mind made up to purchase—often in spite of itself—the work of the advertisement is finished. But there remains another important phase of the general situation that advertisers overlook. The financial ability of the man whose mind is made up must be considered, for it is easier to stimulate wants than to satisfy them. Through the advertisement want creation is reduced to a science, yet the acquisition of means of want satisfaction is largely a "hit or miss" matter in too many cases. Wants may be created today that may not be satisfied for years to come, and in the meantime other wants will have been created, thus piling up out of all proportion to the means of their satisfaction. We are contending that this rapid multiplication of wants begets in the poor man dissatisfaction and unrest, for it is clear that forever to urge upon a person something he cannot possibly possess is to predispose such person to dissatisfaction and unrest and to suggest in the last analysis the "short cut" to the goal of possession. Could burglaries, robberies, forgeries and graft have a more probable genesis?

How are we to explain that the population increase in the United States from 1910 to 1922 was 14.9 per cent, while the criminal population increase was 16.6 per cent and why is such increase in prison population much higher than in England and France?¹⁹ It seems to be an accepted fact that crime in this country is outgrowing population²⁰ and the blanket

theory that this is the aftermath of the Great War seems exploded; for other countries with lower crime records also fought in the war. We read, "The criminal situation in the United States so far as crimes of violence are concerned is worse than in any other civilized country."²¹

According to Hoffman, "the murder rate in the United States has doubled in 24 years," and he further finds that "more than seventeen times as many desperate criminals are found in New York City than in England and Wales, and there was forty times as much murder in Jacksonville in 1923 as in London in 1922."²² The homicide rate for the different countries for the ten-year period, 1911 to 1921 is as follows:

<i>Homicides per 100,000 population²³</i>	
United States.....	7.2
Italy.....	3.6
Australia.....	1.9
New Zealand.....	0.9
Ireland.....	0.9
Scotland.....	0.4
Switzerland.....	0.2
Spain.....	0.9
England and Wales.....	0.8
Quebec.....	0.5
Ontario.....	0.5
Holland.....	0.3

These figures compiled by Dr. Hoffman would indicate an alarming situation with regard to crimes of violence, and although much of the criminality in this country is attributed to immigrants of the South European type this theory does not explain why the homicide rate in the United States is just double that of Italy, one of the South European countries. Again the large Negro population of the

¹⁹ *Literary Digest* (1923), September 15, by the Law Enforcement Committee of The American Bar Association.

²⁰ *New York Times* (1924), November 2.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² *New York Times* (1923), August 29.

²³ *Ibid.*, Editorial, August 30.

South explains to many the place this country holds in crime among the civilized nations, yet the murder rate has outgrown the Negro population. There must be still other forces at work. Let us turn from crimes of violence to those related more closely to economics where advertising effects are more direct. "According to the Bankers Association there was a bank robbery every nineteen hours and fifteen minutes of the year."²⁴ The Automobile Chamber of Commerce reported from twenty-eight of the principal cities of the country that automobile thefts increased from 27,445 in 1918 to 30,046 in 1920. Burglary insurance companies paid \$1,686,195 in 1916 and \$10,189,853 in 1920, thus showing an increase of 543 per cent.²⁵ It is further estimated that thefts on railroads, express companies and other transport concerns approximates \$106,000,000 annually.²⁶

Let us turn from the specific crimes of violence and theft to the more general situation which is reflected in the prison population of the country. For the five-year period from July 1, 1917 to July 1, 1922, we find a steady increase in the population of federal, state and county prisons, the city prisons alone showing a decrease.²⁷

	Number of prisoners	
	July 1, 1917	July 1, 1922
Federal.....	3,018	5,540
Increase		2,522
State.....	71,442	78,673
Increase		7,231
County.....	41,871	44,283
Increase		2,412
City.....	23,855	21,635
Decrease		2,220

When the foregoing figures are distributed according to the sections of the country we have the following percentages of increase or decrease: for the five year period:²⁸

²⁴ The New International Year Book (1922), p. 182.

²⁵ The New International Year Book (1922), p. 182.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ *Ibid.*

Section	Per cent
New England (Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Mass., R. I., Conn.).....	-16.6
Middle Atlantic (New York, New Jersey, Penn.).....	-5.0
East North Central (Ohio, Ind., Ill., Mich., Wis.).....	4.4
West North Central (Minn., Mo., N. Dak., S. Dak., Neb., Kan., Iowa)....	7.4
South Atlantic (Del., Md., D. C., Va., W. Va., N. C., S. C., Ga., Fla.).....	28.4
East South Central (Ky., Tenn., Ala., Miss.).....	17.3
West South Central (Ark., La., Okla., Texas).....	14.2
Mountains (Mont., Ida., Wyo., Colo., N. M., Ariz., Utah, Nev.).....	-4.5
Pacific (Wash., Ore., Calif.).....	25.6

We note that for only three sections is there a decrease in the criminal population, while there is a general increase of 7.1 for the whole country for the five-year period. We are not arguing that excessive advertising is the direct cause of the general increase in crime but we are arguing that advertising creates wants which cannot be satisfied in the case of the man with limited means or no means at all. We are further arguing that the rapid multiplication of unsatisfied wants is bound to create "want-complexes" which inevitably result in unrest and discontent.²⁹ It may be argued that men need to be made discontented and with this we agree, but this far from saying that advertising is the proper instrument for awakening this discontent.

The pernicious effects of advertising may best be seen in the young who are most suggestible. Child nature is a most fertile field for the operation of any agent of suggestion. The children of the poor are especially exposed to the attack of the advertisement, and it is these that need to be considered. When wants are created in the minds of the wealthy

²⁹ Atkins and Laswell, *Labor Attitudes and Problems*, (1924), p. 19.

children they can be easily satisfied but with the poor child it is different, for they must wait—sometimes forever—before their wants are satisfied; and while they are waiting other wants are being created and they are thus doomed like Tantalus to live almost within reach of good things that always elude them. "Short cuts" would offer the most probable avenue of escape from a necessitous existence such as many poor children are doomed to eke out; for there is a disproportion between the means of the poor child and those of their wealthy contemporaries which must be disquieting to the former in many ways. May this fact not be one of the explanations of the increase of crime among the young?

We find that half of the convicts in Sing Sing are under twenty-five and eight out of ten are under thirty; and 80 per cent of the crimes are committed by youths between seventeen and twenty-two.³⁰ The young by reason of their greater suggestibility are peculiarly exposed to the want-creating influence of the advertisement; it is easy to cultivate in them tastes disproportionate to their means. "Millionaire standards" are easily adopted even where there are not the corresponding means, and the readiness with which they are adopted is directly attributable to the educative influence of the advertisement. Just as the suggestibility of the child makes him susceptible to the appeal of the advertisement, so with women who are peculiarly susceptible,³¹ and herein lie possibilities that are ominous for marital felicity. The ultimate influence of the advertisement is not the same for the wife of the rich man as for the wife of the poor man; for in the first

case a real service is rendered and in the second case a problem is created. We see, therefore, it is not the principle of advertising that is dangerous but the method and extent.

In conclusion, there are some facts that society must eventually face, namely,

(1) Advertising is essentially the seller's instrument and its main objective is more and better business rather than the public good. It looks "seller-ward" and this fact raises the question, who is to look "purchaser-ward"?

(2) Classified advertisements are not necessarily pernicious since they are designed more for the satisfaction of wants already existent than for the creation of wants.

(3) The advertisement carries an element of finality since the public has no way to counter-suggest and the challenge of the advertisement is so overwhelming that the average man feels helpless and his resistance breaks down.

(4) Advertising is a social force of such potency that a *laissez-faire* policy with regard to it becomes dangerous in view of the extent of it and the scientific nature of its appeal. It is further dangerous because it probably conduces to social pathology.

In view of what has been said hereinbefore, two questions are forced upon the student of social questions in particular and the public in general. Can the public withstand the anti-social concomitants of the excessive display advertisement until it reaches the point of diminishing returns? What can be done to save the man without means from the persistent and ubiquitous advertisement which disregards the disproportion between want-creation and the means of want satisfaction and the unrest necessarily engendered?

³⁰ *World's Work* (1924), June, p. 133.

³¹ Ross, *Social Psychology*, p. 16.

A SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF PROBLEMS OF LABOR AND WAGE RELATIONS

NILES CARPENTER

THE teaching of labour problems in the average American university suffers from three defects: first, its virtual monopolization by the economists; second, its over-empiricism; and third, its over-inclusiveness. All three are due chiefly to the exigencies attending the development of courses in labour problems in this country, and are, therefore, mutually related.

The first defect, namely, the virtual monopolization of the field of labour problems by the economists, is probably to be accounted for principally by the fact that the pioneering work in this subject was in the main prosecuted by such economists as Barnett, Commons, Ripley, Carleton, and Hoxie, under the inspiration, perhaps, of the Younger Historical School of Germany.¹ Whatever its causes, the fact remains that, in the United States, most of the teaching and writing on labour and wage relations has fallen to the hands of men trained primarily as economists. And, however excellent their work has been, their treatment of the subject has been lacking in at least one important respect: there has been a very general neglect of the non-economic aspects of the problems that they have discussed. It is true that psychological considerations have received some recognition, but this has been tardy and inadequate. On the other hand, little attention has been given to the broader sociological or political implications of the labour question, or to its relationship with the problems with which the social

worker is concerned. The result has been that such impressions as the student has gained concerning labour problems have been incomplete, and what conclusions he has reached have often been grounded on an insufficient body of data. For example, far too little consideration has been devoted to the influence of race and class standards and distinctions on wage determination.

The influence of the economists has, moreover, served powerfully to bring about the second defect in the teaching of labour problems in America; that is, its overempiricism. This influence has operated in a curious fashion. The bulk of "orthodox" economic theory, under the aegis of which most economists, up to the present generation, have lived and worked, has concerned itself chiefly with certain "laws" or "normal tendencies" of value, price, and the distribution of wealth, and relatively little with the particular topics that are of primary interest to the wage earner. Furthermore, when labour problems have impinged on "pure economics," as they do in the field of wages, they have often been rather airily dismissed as "short run" phenomena or "temporary abnormalities," with which economic theory *per se* is presumed to be but little concerned. As a result, it has been necessary to discuss most of the major problems of labour with no clue to the cause-and-effect relationship involved in them, and no suggestion as to their setting in an ordered account of the social process. Instead, there has been a tendency to put before the student whatever of descriptive and statistical data there might be avail-

¹ Cf. Bigelow's Essay on "Economics" in Barnes et al.: *The History and Prospects of the Social Sciences*, pp. 380-381.

able on one or another topic, together with whatever *ad hoc* remedies might have been proposed for the maladjustments related to it. Moreover, there has been a tendency to stress out of all proportion the purely pathological aspects of the wage relation. Indeed, so widespread has become the practice of associating pathological considerations with the study of labour that courses and text-books on the subject almost uniformly bear the title of "labour problems." The consequences of this over-empiricism in the development of the study of labour relations is that the average student gains from it rather an aggregate of more or less pertinent information and more or less sound opinion upon an assortment of disparate topics, than a systematically organized body of data, clearly coöordinated with the whole *corpus* of social science,—to the detriment both of his intellectual development and of his training for rational citizenship.

The third major defect in the development of courses on labour in American colleges follows, in the main, directly from the foregoing. It is their over-inclusiveness. With no clear-cut criteria for the selection of material, the average teacher has been prone to include many subjects, as for example sickness insurance and public school education, which are only remotely and indirectly related to their principal subject. There has, however, been another special influence that has also operated to bring about the inclusion of subject matter largely irrelevant in its nature in such courses. This is the very general practice of smuggling material on unorthodox social and economic theories, such as socialism, into courses in labour problems, this device being considered, apparently, the most expedient means for providing instruction in these subjects under the administrative

situation obtaining in many universities. Whatever may be the motives prompting such action, its result has been unfortunate, in that it has served still farther to disarrange and overcrowd the teaching in this subject.

There is, then a need to reorganize the work in the field of labour, with a view, first, to bringing it within the purview of all the social studies, rather than that of merely one of them; second, to giving such order and proportion to its empirical data as to permit its incorporation into systematic social science, and as to render it capable of leading to significant generalizations; third, to adopting such criteria in the selection of subject matter as will not only insure unity, but will also make possible such thoroughness of treatment as a subject of this sort deserves.

It is with these *desiderata* in view that the syllabus which follows has been constructed. It is intended to be built, not around, a series of "problems," but rather around the outstanding economic and social relation characterizing modern labour, namely the wage relation. Furthermore, since the wage relation extends beyond industrial labour, to agricultural, clerical, and sub-managerial operations, cognizance is taken of these types of work, and not solely of industrial labour, as is usually the case.² Again, in that the wage relation involves other persons than the worker, some effort has been made to make room for considerations of these other parties, insofar as their activities impinge on the life of the worker.

Finally, a *caveat* should be entered to this effect: despite one's convictions regarding the topics that should or should not be included in this field, the fact remains that the developments discussed

² A notable exception is Chapter 4 of Atkins and Lasswell, *Labor Problems and Attitudes*.

above have brought about a general expectation that it does involve the consideration of certain questions, and some cognizance must be taken of this fact. Accordingly, this syllabus is not to be thought of so much as an outline even of the writer's ideal for the development of this subject, as a beginning towards an approach to it.

SYLLABUS ON PROBLEMS OF LABOUR AND WAGE RELATIONS

I. The Wage Relation.

1. The Wages System.

- A. History—Earlier types of labour-relations; the evolution of the wages system.
- B. Wage Determination—Wage Theories; "Dynamic" factors effecting wage rates; Standardization and regulation of wage rates; Supplementation of wages.

2. Social Correlatives of the Wages System.

- A. Inseparability of the Worker from his Work—Time; Place; Working conditions.
- B. Class cleavage and class feeling.
- C. Wages and population.

II. The Manual Worker (The "Labourer")

1. Definition, Numbers, and Classification.

2. Income.

- A. Amount—Real and money wages; Earnings; The trend of wages; Wage differentials; Wages and the national income.

- B. The Interruption and Cessation of Income. Interruption: Unemployment, accident, illness; Cessation: Old-age, invalidity, death; Pensions, Savings, and private insurance; Social insurance.

- C. Expenditure—Standards of living; Conventions of expenditure; Buying habits and opportunities; Co-operative buying; Investment, speculation, and fraud.

3. Physical and personal integrity.

- A. Health—Dyshygienic and noxious working conditions; Fatigue and psychological stress; Malnutrition and other correlatives of low income; Child Labour;

Woman labour and race stamina; Factory legislation and inspection.

B. Safety—Causes and incidence of industrial accidents; Possibilities and limits of accident prevention; Safety legislation.

C. Morality—Strain, repression, and unwholesome recreation; Special problems of adolescents and women.

D. Mentality—Simplification of processes and the premium on mediocrity; Physical exhaustion and mental stagnation; Intellectual resources of the industrial community; Workers' Education.

4. Social Relations.

A. The Family—As a unit of production, of consumption, and of human relations; The conflict of industrial requirements and of family obligations.

B. The Community—Class, race, and neighborhood isolation; Participation in special interest activities and in civic life; Share in formation and expression of public opinion.

C. Other Labourers.

1. Individually — Apprenticeship and occupational jealousy; Antagonisms of race, sex, and creed; Occupational hierarchies.

2. Collectively (Trade Unions)—Economic and psychological basis of trade unionism; The trade union movement; its history and tendencies; Trade union tactics, as economically and psychologically motivated; Trade union pathology: grafters, spies, slugs, factionalism.

3. Collectively continued (Workers' Representation)—Shop committees "Company Unions;" "Workers' Control."

D. Political Relations.

1. "Labour in Politics"—Labour lobbies; "Friends of labour;" Labour parties.

2. "Law and order"—Industrial conflict versus the public

peace; State sovereignty versus craft and class loyalty; Labour and law-enforcing agencies: The police and the military, "private guards," the courts.

3. Socialism and social reform—"Radicalism:" its basis and significance; Social programs and tactics. Tendencies and progress of socialist movements.

III. The Foreman.

1. As a Part of the Labour Problem.
 - A. Dualism in status and outlook.
 - B. The "Old Time Foreman," his rise and decline.
2. As a factor in the Labour Problem.
 - A. Decisive rôle in career of manual labourer—advantages and disadvantages; Effects of curtailment of functions.
 - B. The technical foreman and Scientific Management—Basis of selection, outlook, and sympathies; "Impersonality:" advantages and disadvantages.
 - C. The foreman and Trade Unions—Trade Union Membership—Shop Control.

IV. The Clerical Worker.

1. Definition, Numbers, and classification.
 - A. By types of work.
 - B. By skill and income.
 - C. By sex.
2. Clerical and Manual Workers
 - A. Relative Economic Position—Earnings; Terms of employment; Tenure; Manner of employment: Race and class distinction, favoritism and nepotism; Promotion.
 - B. Relative Social Position—Intellectual and social background; Occupation and social status, outlook, and sympathies.
3. Changes effecting the Clerical Worker's Position.
 - A. The Feminine Incursion—Proportions and direction; Effect on wages and bargaining power,—on status.
 - B. The Clerically Unskilled—Multiplication of low-skilled clerical tasks; Routinization and mechanization of office-work; Large-scale offices.

C. Professionalization of upper-grade office workers.

V. The Farm Worker.

1. Farm Labour.
 - A. Characteristics—Freedom from supervision; Variety; Disagreeableness and labouriousness; Intermittency; Isolation; Inadequate housing and sanitation.
 - B. Types—Casuals; Hired men; Croppers and share-renters (Negro Peons); Petty proprietors; child and woman labour.
 - C. Income and expenditure—Money wages; Invisible items of income and outlay; Indebtedness; Insecurity.

2. The Capitalist-Farmer.

- A. Types—Owners; Upper-grade cash renters.
- B. Relations to farm Labourers—Tenants; Hired men; Casuals; Sons and relatives.
3. Opinions and Organization.
 - A. The Rural Proletariat and the "I. W. W."
 - B. Agrarianism—As anti-urbanism; As anti-capitalism; As anti-landlordism; As collectivism.
 - C. Agricultural Cooperation; Economic aspects; Social aspects.

VI. Other Parties to the Wage Relation.

1. The Employer.
 - A. Attitudes toward employees—Economically motivated; Personally motivated; Personal association,—paternalism,—antagonisms; Race and class feeling.
 - B. Labour Policies—Wages; Working conditions; Trade Unionism; Employee representation; "Welfare" and "Profit Sharing;" Response to state regulation, to public opinion, to organized employer opinion.
 - C. Organization of the Wage Relation ("Employment Management") Procurement; Placement and Promotion; Working conditions and Employment relations.
2. The investor.
 - A. Factors Effecting Attitudes toward Wage Relations—Preoccupation with income-yield; Absenteeism; Class and race feeling; Biassed information.

- B. Nature and Degree of Control over Wage Relations—the small saver; the security holder; the "controlling interest;" the banker and the purveyor of credit.
- C. The Wage Worker as an Investor—The "petty capitalist;" Producers' and Consumers' co-operation; Labour banks.
- 3. The Consuming Public.
 - A. Factors effecting attitudes towards Wage Relations—Demand for cheapness; Requirement of non-

- interruption in flow of goods; Abhorrence of change and disorder; Humanitarianism.
- B. Nature and Degree of Unorganized Control over Wage Relations—The "demand curve;" Goodwill; "Public opinion;" Charitable effort.
- C. Nature and Degree of Organized Control over Wage Relations—Preferential patronage; Consumers' Co-operation; Legislation.

GUIDES TO PERIODICAL READING

GEORGE B. LOGAN

The fact of invention in industry has been variously accounted for. Biographers are wont to ascribe it to the peculiar genius or inspiration of certain men. Others regard it as the crowning act which brings to fruition a long train of effort participated in by many. Others still consider it as the deliberate response to some definite need or refer it to the organized research of great corporations. And again, it is explained on materialistic grounds, as a means of creating greater wealth for those who exploit it. Ralph C. Epstein does not think any of these theories covers the whole field, and suggests in the February *Quarterly Journal of Economics* a historical investigation to throw more light on the motives and results of invention.

A pistol shot in Cairo on a November morning of 1924 may prove tragic to the American cotton industry. The assassination of Sir Lee Stack, Governor-General of the Sudan, provoked the present British policy of withdrawing from the Nile all water needed for the great cotton country now being developed on the upper river. This region, as large as all our Southern

states, can produce a crop superior in quality to any except that of the Sea Islands, and powerful capitalists are preparing to exploit it and so free the Manchester spinners from dependence on America. When the Sudan strikes its stride, "Our African Cotton Rivals," as Pierre Crabites warns us in the March *North American Review*, may be responsible for an industrial revolution in this country.

Land and tools have long been sold on the hire-purchase system, because they can be made to pay for themselves in increased production. Today fur coats, private yachts, and countless other short-lived luxuries are being sold by installment to the extent of one-twelfth the annual national income. Within twenty-five years this has become "The Land of Dignified Credit," in which caution is undermined and thrift made to appear a handicap in getting on. Losses are slight, both to the buyers and the finance companies who assist them into debt, but protests against this orgy of advance spending are beginning to come from conservative banks, installment firms that

have been unable to collect, and organized labor. As Arthur Pound points out in the February *Atlantic*, over-selling the consumer has the same effect as over-inflating the currency, and the creation of a great debtor class may end, as it has ended before, in political and social upheaval. . . . Much the same story, minus the sober warning, is told by Hawthorne Daniel in the *World's Work* for January.

Since Biblical times the Jew has been found only rarely on the soil. Yet within a generation the Jewish farm population of this country has increased seventy-fold, until there are now 15,000 families who work more than a million acres of land in every state. Gabriel Davidson describes in the January *B'nai B'rith* some of the centers in which they have gathered and their chief products; while Bernhard Ostrolenk tells the story of the National Farm School, now in its thirtieth year, from which several thousand young Jews have gone out into scientific agriculture. Through tillage and ownership of the land the Jew can feel a true American citizen with a vital stake in the country's welfare.

What economic theory lies back of modern labor relations in industry? Not one but at least five separate theories, thinks William M. Leiserson in the January-February *American Review*. Labor, say some, is a commodity subject to the law of supply and demand, to be bought in the cheapest market and sold in the dearest. Others consider it a natural resource which needs conserving for the future interests of the country. Others still see it as a human form of machinery, whose value is determined solely by quantity and quality of output. Or again, it is a customer of the employer, who

must secure its goodwill and deal with it as an enlightened monarch. Or, finally, labor is beginning to be recognized as industrial citizenship, with the right, like that of political citizenship, to determine policies through representative government. All these theories are partially true, and all necessary to a complete view of labor relations.

Within five years labor banking has taken its place as a power to be reckoned with in the financial world. Its rise is due, as Harry W. Laidler points out in the following article, to the growing desire of the unions to adopt a positive attitude toward social issues, to provide democratic control and constructive use for their vast resources, or simply to make money. The policy of labor banks is sound, their standing is high, and they have increased the prestige of those who control them. They possess many co-operative features and have helped in financing a large number of true co-operatives. In some quarters they are criticized as being too conservative in outlook or allowing their loans to fall too much to the hands of capitalists. Their chief value lies in training up the more enlightened labor leaders in the complexities of modern economic life.

An honest-to-goodness dirt farmer challenges the Malthusian view of land as tending today to keep down food prices and hence the opulence of its producers. In the February *Atlantic* Glenn W. Birkett argues that food results not only from land but from the most efficient use of labor on land, and not only from tilled land but from the coal and oil and electricity that are found on non-tillable. Forty years ago food paid for more than double the amount of labor it does today; the purchasing power of the city worker has increased far more rapidly than the

cost of necessities, and prosperity for him means a demand for luxuries rather than for more to eat. Labor has been able to buy more by producing less, while the farmer buys less because he produces more. Yet he is being compelled by adversity to limit production, and in time the scarcity of food will equalize the cost of its production with that of other forms of work.

Since Samuel Butler first opined that we are becoming slaves to our machines a host of observers, from Bernard Shaw to Arthur Pound, have pointed to the evil effects of a mechanical age upon that delicate and restless organism called man. Must he be further adapted to the machine, asks Frank T. Carlton in the March *Scientific Monthly*, or is it feasible to make it a true servant of civilized society? The author shows how regularity and standardization and conformity have invaded not only the factory but the business world, family life, education, and almost every detail of our daily

existence. Yet it is conceivable that the spirit of man may learn to subject this new world of applied science to his own higher ends. We are still groping for the power and the method.

"The New South," a great virgin empire, can hardly claim to be unrecognized these days. For readers of the *Review of Reviews* it is rediscovered by a series of enthusiastic yet carefully prepared articles from half a dozen Southern leaders in the April issue. Wallace Buttrick sets down the startling facts of advance in education; Edwin Mims of intellectual progress in literature and the universities; Clarence Poe and others of the South's industrial resources and railroad expansion. The peculiar value of the recent Duke endowment for local hospitals in the rural Carolinas is explained by W. S. Rankin. Florida is of course the spectacular center of interest, but North Carolina appears to be building on the solidest foundations.

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Book Reviews directed by HARRY ELMER BARNES AND FRANK H. HANKINS

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INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

FRANK H. HANKINS

THE RE-MAKING OF THE NATIONS. By J. H. Nicholson. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1925, pp. xi, 276. \$5.00.

EUROPE OVERSEAS. By James A. Williamson. London: Oxford University Press, 1925, 144 pp. \$1.00.

THE REAWAKENING OF THE ORIENT AND OTHER ADDRESSES. By Sir Valentine Chirol, Yusuke Tsurumi and Sir James Arthur Salter. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1925, 176 pp. \$2.00.

THE HEART OF ARAYAVARTA. By the Earl of Ronaldshay. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1925, pp. xvii, 262. \$5.00.

THE LAW OF THE THRESHOLD. By F. A. Steel. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1924, pp. vi, 310. \$2.25.

THE PUNJAB PEASANT. By Malcolm L. Darling. London: The Oxford University Press, 1925, pp. xxii, 298. \$4.50.

THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH AND ITS UNSOLVED PROBLEMS. By C. M. MacInnes. New York, Longmans, Green and Company, 1925, pp. x, 175. \$1.75.

NEW ZEALAND. By William P. Reeves. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1925, 390 pp. \$5.00.

WEST OF THE PACIFIC. By Ellsworth Huntington. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925, pp. xv and 453. \$4.50.

COUNTRY LIFE IN SOUTH CHINA. By D. H. Kulp. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, 1925; pp. xxx and 367.

It is becoming a truism that the Great War shook the foundations of the entire world. Everywhere there is a feverish unrest, a striving for new adjustments of thought and things. This view is left clearly upon the mind of the reader of Nicholson's *Remaking of the Nations*. This is the fruit of his travels on the Kahn Foundation in 1922. He pictures not only post-war Europe, but also the economic, political and cultural penetration of East by West, the outstanding types of Oriental religions and the struggle for national unity in Egypt, China, India and elsewhere. He found everywhere that old life values were undergoing modification, and that nowhere were existing values considered final or existing institutions permanent. He found world civilization in a process of unprecedented change. The impact of diverse cultural currents, particularly of western science on Asiatic religious, philosophical and ethical systems, has set up a striving for self-consistency, for a new psychic integration. If ours is an era of nationalism, patriotism and race consciousness, Nicholson finds it is also an era of world-wide reaction. He noted India's return to the spirit of the Vedas, China's revival of Confucianism and Japan's of Buddhism, Europe's Neo-Catholicism, and the West's attack upon the complacent orthodoxies of science. He has written a worthwhile book (the only poor chapter is on America) through which one can make a trip around the world at slight expense in a short time and see more than most travellers are able to discern.

It becomes increasingly evident that the matter-of-course rule of oriental by occidental peoples and the equally complete submission of the former has

come to an end. While this affects the future of the British Empire more than any other great power, it marks a new phase of the relation of Europe to non-Europe. The story of European expansion—Spanish, Portuguese, French, Dutch, English and American, is told briefly but vividly in Williamson's *Europe Overseas*. Like the other volumes of The World's Manuals it contains a sketchy but interesting and significant study of a great theme. One wonders why the map of Africa should show the boundaries of 1914. One would have read another dozen pages on the present and the future.

But for certain phases of the latter one may turn to *The Awakening of the Orient*, one of the Williamstown Institute of Politics Publications. All but the intimately informed will derive great enlightenment from Sir Valentine Chirol's two addresses on "The Reawakening of the Orient" and "The Great Indian Experiment." Written from a mildly pro-British viewpoint they are nevertheless worthwhile studies in the evolution of a new social consciousness. There follow two essays by Yusuke Tsurumi on the liberal, the industrial-labor, and the farm-tenant movements in Japan. Together they constitute a review of recent political and social trends showing clearly how the ancient regime has been inevitably modified by the vigorous impingement of new forces. Like Chirol this author also stresses the effects of the Great War. Written from the liberal as distinguished from the radical viewpoint these essays constitute an argument for the wisdom of progressive public policy as the safe middle-ground between an out-worn conservatism and a growing radicalism. This second volume also contains two readable but not significant lectures on the economic recovery of the world and the rôle of economic competition as a cause

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of war. It is argued that political factors, such as pride of race or nationality, have impeded the operation of healing economic forces and that future peace depends on some liquidation of nationalistic sentiment, the further separation of governments from the international commercial activities of their citizens and the organization of international agencies and policies for the handling of such ticklish problems as migration, raw materials and tariffs.

The other volumes on India are first-rate sociological studies of conditions affecting Bengal and the Punjab. *The Heart of Aryavarta* by the former Governor of Bengal is a study of the origins and evolution of Hindu culture and of the conflict now raging in Indian thought and emotion between the rising race consciousness which would preserve and revivify the indigenous culture and the desire to share with the West the advantages of modern science and industry. Though the third volume in a series by this author, it is by itself a very enlightening contribution to present psychological states and their cultural background. The significance of the conception of unity and of the ideal of renunciation and the tremendous explosive power contained in appeals to ancient values as against the West are made clear and leave a vivid realization of the extreme gravity of the present state of affairs. Against such a background the novel by F. A. Steel is more understandable and doubly significant. Here the conflict of cultures takes on the appealing form of the love conflicts of a talented Hindu maiden educated in the West. One wonders, however, whether Miss Steel has not unduly exaggerated the barbarisms of Kali worship and the dangers of Bolshevik propaganda. Perhaps not.

Like the other studies of India here

noted, that by Mr. Darling of the Indian Civil Service leaves one in no doubt of a profound difference in Hindu as compared with occidental psychology, both individual and social. "East is East and West is West," although both Ronaldshay and Darling do not despair of a final integration of desirable elements of western culture with a renewed Hinduism. Darling's portrayal of the life of the Punjab peasant with his attachment to his religion, his family and his land, his keen interest in politics, his entanglement by and his hatred of the money lender gives the concrete aspect of Ronaldshay's abstract study. In last analysis the basic trouble with the Punjab peasant is his childlike attachment to religious beliefs which compel him to marry shortly after puberty and to involve himself in deep debt in order to marry off his daughter. The author's statement that the population of India increased over 100,000,000 from 1872 to 1921 is doubtless over the mark. But there is possibility of improvement. The war service of 500,000 Punjabis, most of them in Europe, constitutes a factor whose importance, the author says, cannot be exaggerated. The standard of life is rising and with it postponement of the age of marriage. Agricultural co-operation is learning how to cope with the money lender. Education is being made compulsory. New methods of agriculture are being introduced. Will steady advance be made from the age-old life of the village to a new and enlightened community or will seething emotions break out in forms which will end in deeper poverty and superstition?

This is only one of many of the unsolved problems within the British Empire. Professor MacInnes devotes over ninety pages of his small volume to India with her trend toward self-government

and the thorny problems growing out of her relations with other colonies, especially the status of her subjects in other parts of the Empire. His is essentially a study in the present evolution of the British Empire toward greater unity or toward dissolution. There can be little doubt that this Empire is today the most important political force making for the stability and advancement of civilization. It is, however, a league of nations within itself and thus confronted with the difficult problem of preserving and enhancing a spirit of unity of the whole while permitting a free development of individuality among the parts. This volume gives an excellent brief account of recent progress and present problems.

The story of New Zealand by Mr. Reeves, who for many years was closely identified with its political and economic life, is at once a history and a work of literature. The present volume is a revision of a work first published in 1898. It has been largely rewritten and chapters on recent events added by Cecil J. Wray. It is an interesting and informing volume valuable chiefly for its intimate historical record.

Professor Huntington has established an enviable reputation for the writing of numerous interesting books. This latest is a record of six months travel to and from the Second Pan-American Pacific Science Congress in Australia in 1923. There was a month in Japan, a week in Chosen, a stop at the Philippines, seven weeks in Australia, two in Java and five in China. The time seems short enough, but Professor Huntington is an experienced observer, has a remarkably quick mind with no little imagination and a penchant for social philosophizing. As compared with Nicholson there is little attention to political movements, religious revolutions and broader social trans-

formations, but a wealth of lively detail that gives intimate and illuminating pictures of the life of the people. There are also informing pages on Japan's industrial outlook, Java's population problem, the operation of natural selection in China, the climatic obstacles and the minimum wage in Australia. To the reviewer Huntington seems substantially correct in his repeated emphasis on the selective operation of natural and social conditions. He may be correct also in the emphasis on "temperament" which this journey leads him to think is an hereditary character of profound importance in determining the type of social life and shaping the social tradition. "The main addition to my own stock of ideas has been a new realization of the fundamental part played by temperament." "Temperament rivals, and perhaps, transcends, all other conditions in determining the status of a people." Moreover, he thinks this quality is due to the joint effects of heredity and climate. There will be few sociologists ready to accept so simple an explanation. The "gracious, artistic temperament" of the Japanese, the "economical thrifty, and outspoken temperament" of the Chinese, etc. are due to as complex a set of causes as one may assign to any major feature of a culture.

Professor Kulp has set a new standard for studies of the local community. Taking advantage of special entrée through trained native assistants he made a study of Phenix Village, near Canton. His plan of study presents a thoroughly matured sociological investigation of the regional setting, the ethnic and biological factors, and the political and cultural aspects of this community of 650 persons. Based as it is on the work of many social surveyors in this country and on that of anthropologist and social psychologist, it is imbued with a significance and meaning

seldom found in such local studies. His work is not only a model survey but an important contribution to our knowledge of village life in China. It is the most intimate study of the institution of familism as it exists in China yet made by a trained sociologist.

F. H. HANKINS.

INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC POLICIES. By William Smith Culbertson. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1925. xviii, 573 pp. \$4.00.

In the field of international relations and economics Dr. Culbertson's book is one of the most useful and substantial that has come from the American press for some time. It should go a long way towards disillusioning those who still think that diplomacy is an insidious game of intrigue invariably resulting in disaster. The approach to the subject is by no means orthodox, and the author does not concern himself with the history or methods of international negotiation. What interests him is the subject matter of modern diplomacy, and in a rather brilliant first chapter he sketches the background of modern inter-state relations—the economic conditions resulting from the profound changes of the nineteenth century. In great detail he examines the outstanding problems of the day: commercial treaties, tariffs and preference, the closed door, questions arising from the possession of colonial territory, and the large issues of raw materials, foreign investments and shipping. What makes Dr. Culbertson's contribution particularly instructive is, in the first place his tremendous fund of information, and the command of historical data, and in the second his rather unusual breadth of view. As an official of the state department he has had every opportunity to exploit the mass of statistical information and has the statements of policy issued by his own and

other countries at his finger tips. He was undoubtedly the logical man for the work. But unlike most officials he has not become blind to the point of view of others. One should say rather that his experience has awakened him to an unrivalled appreciation of the problems at issue. Those who like to have the author relegate himself entirely to the background will be disappointed in the book. It is objective, but not in the sense that it is wooden. It is written with a purpose, and the writer seizes every opportunity to express his opinion of the policies he is describing. He finds himself forced to the conclusion that we have insufficient international government and attempts to show that all talk of peace is futile so long as the fundamental sources of friction are not removed: "The fault lies not with any nation or with any class but with the world system in which nations are now involved—a system which emphasizes mercantilist rights and extreme doctrines of sovereignty in fields to which they do not legitimately apply and which consequently leave human conduct in large areas under a state of anarchy" (p. 21). He is merciless in the exposition of our own shortcomings, and decisively condemns our conditional most-favored nation policy, our closed door in the Philippines, etc. On the other hand he is eminently fair to others, recognizing that in pre-war days the Germans consistently maintained the open door in their colonies while the French did not. In another connection he points out that the French were among those who sinned most seriously in devoting the capital of their nationals to the furthering of rather dubious political aims. Culbertson certainly cannot be accused of shrinking from the conclusions forced upon him by the facts. The only weakness of the book is one which is unfortunately too common

among American writers. The author is never so sure of himself in the field of European history as he might be, and is too apt to rely on mediocre secondary sources. On page 205 Alexander of Russia rather than Metternich should have been described as the prime mover in the effort to regain the Spanish colonies for the mother country. In the same connection the author does not state the British policy quite accurately. He forgets that Canning himself was quite ready to see the colonies and Spain reconciled. In his discussion of the future of the Portuguese colonies and the Bagdad Railway Agreement of 1914 (pp. 218-219, 377) he would have done better to consult Brandenburg:

Von Bismarck zum Weltkrieg than to rely entirely on the colored Lichnowsky Memorandum. To the reviewer's knowledge Morocco was never under Turkish suzerainty (p. 278). The Agadir incident took place in 1911, not in 1909 (p. 280) and it may well be doubted whether the German policy was largely conditioned by the Mannesmann interests (p. 376). Finally, in connection with the financial aspects of the Franco-Russian Alliance, the writer might have found very interesting corroboratory material in the Margaine report of 1919, which appears to have escaped the notice of most authors.

WILLIAM L. LANGER.

Clark University.

A NEW SOCIAL EXPERIMENT

ROBERT J. KERNER

CZECHOSLOVAKIA. A SURVEY OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS. Edited by Dr. Josef Gruber, Professor of Economics at the Charles University in Prague. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1924. 256 pp. \$2.50.

WHEN the new republic of Czechoslovakia was created late in 1918, its leaders faced an impending land revolution and a restless urban proletariat, exhausted by war and in the throes of an acute, unemployment crisis. Added to this was the unreasoning, sentimental regard with which the common man regarded Russia. In this new state of little over 13½ million inhabitants—in which besides Czechoslovaks lived also Germans, Magyars and Poles—the immediate problem was to take care of 267,000 unemployed, 170,000 war invalids, 110,000 widows, 180,000 orphans and 65,000 mothers and fathers of soldiers who had lost their lives.

To clear the air, President T. G. Masaryk, who needs no introduction to

sociologists, coined two very apt slogans which have remained until today the guide-lines of Czechoslovak internal policy: "Social Reform, not Social Revolution" and "De-Austrianize and Re-educate the People."

This little volume is gotten up by government officials and professors, each expert in his own field, tracing in broad outlines population, agriculture, forestry, land reform, coal, water-power, industries, foreign trade, commercial and customs policy, railways, postal service, banking, currency, government finance, labor legislation, social welfare, child welfare, housing and crime. The attempt is made to contrast old pre-war conditions with those which exist at present. Of particular interest to sociologists may be cited the chapters on land reform, social welfare, child welfare, housing and crime.

The land reform was planned "strictly on an evolutionary and constructive basis, without any economic and social upheav-

als, so that it might become one of the mainstays of the liberated country." The pressure of land-hunger may be illustrated by the fact that in Bohemia seven-eights of the population had no land at all. Something like 151 land-owners held 28.31 per cent of the area of the country and 373,088 owners held less than one-hundredth part of it. Political and nationalistic factors entered into an already difficult economic and social problem when it is remembered that a foreign-speaking nobility had been encamped upon the soil as a result of the confiscations without compensation carried out by the Habsburgs after the Battle of White Mountain (1620). The land reform with compensation has proceeded, on the whole, in a sober, steady fashion. A land revolution has been avoided. All big estates were not destroyed, especially not those which were economically necessary. Farms of 370 acres are allowed, while infinitesimal farms are being increased to about 15 to 30 acres. A satisfied small peasantry is thus being created.

Important to the social scientist who can see in these new states a laboratory, which seldom, if ever, has presented itself in history, is the labor legislation undertaken by Czechoslovakia. The long standing demand of the urban proletariat for the eight-hour day was satisfied by the Law of December 19, 1918. "The passage of the law was unanimous, both the representatives of labor and the representatives of capital and agriculture recognizing its necessity." Austrian laws provided a maximum of 11 hours in factories with 1 hour overtime; 9 hours in mines with 3 hours overtime; there was no limit in agricultural and commercial establishments. The new law provided for 8 hours in a day, 48 hours in a week, or 192 hours in four weeks for all categories of labor. In cases of seasonal work

and especially in agriculture and in the building industry, overtime is allowed on application to the boards of labor, but not to exceed 2 hours a day in not more than 20 weeks or 240 hours in a year. Pauses in working-days, Sunday rest, limited night work for men over 18 and night work for women only in the exceptional cases of public interest were provided for. Children under 14 cannot be gainfully employed in factories nor under 10 in light house and agricultural work. This law, it may be observed, stabilized labor conditions at a time when grave unrest was present, and signified the cessation of labor conflicts along these lines. Its ultimate triumph will depend not on Czechoslovak legislation, but on its triumph in countries with which Czechoslovakia must compete.

The large number of unemployed mentioned above brought no small task to the new Ministry of Social Welfare and no slight strain upon the overburdened budget. However, as trade and industry picked up, the numbers of unemployed decreased. After 1922 the Ghent system was introduced, and unemployment doles were to be paid in equal shares by labor organizations and the state.

After various temporary measures were resorted to to take care of war invalids, the Law of January 25, 1922 fixed the basic allotments to war sufferers, whose earning capacity had been reduced to 55 per cent. Elaborate details were perfected to put them on their feet so far as possible.

The sweating system was attacked by the Law of June 17, 1920 by the establishment of district and central committees appointed by the Ministry of Social Welfare, consisting of three employers, three employees and three neutral experts. These committees mediate in all conflicts between employers and the employed. The central committees act as appellate

bodies and review the decisions of the district committees. They also issue rules regulating wages.

The new republic went some distance in the direction of the democratization of industry when by the Law of February 25, 1920, district and local miners councils were established. On August 12, 1921 a similar law was passed for councils in all factories or industrial establishments having over 30 permanent employees. These are advisory bodies and are not authorized to interfere in the management of the factories.

As the Austro-Hungarian laws for social insurance were both obsolete and incomplete, a complete system of social insurance is now being worked out. However, owing to fiscal reasons, it was found impossible to adopt a general system of national insurance however desirable it might be. Until a complete system of social insurance is adopted, a series of laws has been passed providing for compulsory insurance against sickness of all persons (including agricultural wage workers) performing labor or service or apprenticeship; sick benefits for women in childbed; compulsory insurance for families; and increased old age pensions.

In regard to child welfare progress has been made by laws for the protection of illegitimate children and children under the care of strangers. Public supervision is extended to all children below 14 years of age living outside of their own family. Administrative measures are now being taken to divide the state into 21 districts for the purpose of administering social welfare and for financial purposes. These districts are to receive support from the State Treasury. Steps are also being taken to revise provisions in the existing code for the protection of children. The administration of relief for the poor is to be supported more and more in the future by

higher units of the state administration in the case of communes unable adequately to take care of their poor. Finally, a thorough-going reform of the penal code is in process of preparation. Its aim is to establish a modern and uniform system of criminal jurisprudence throughout the Republic.

Perhaps, in passing, it may not be amiss to mention that more attention might have been devoted in the book to the problems of nationalities as they work themselves out in existing economic and social conditions. While the difficulty of gathering accurate statistics faces even government officials in such problems, a large number of English readers would prefer to have had at least a sober, official statement on these matters than the current uncritical propaganda of German and Magyar partisans.

Viewed as a whole, the volume makes it very clear that the people of the Czechoslovak Republic have gotten down to work with a firm will and with commendable intelligence. The book is a record of real achievement along economic and social lines and contains much hope for the future. To the sociologist and the economist, it may present many important suggestions and clues.

A POLITICAL AND SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES. Vol. I, from 1492-1828, by Homer C. Hockett; and Vol. II from 1829-1925, by Arthur M. Schlesinger. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1925. xiii, 438; xv, 576 pp.

THE GROWTH OF THE UNITED STATES. By Ralph Volney Harlow. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1925. xv, 862 pp.

A few years ago the average college text-book in United States history was an incomplete collection of facts on a few of the less important phases of the subject—such, for example, as those dealing with the military and political incidents. Even these were given a skeptical reception by

the older orthodox historians if they were current or near current happenings. Nothing approaching authentic history, they believed, could be satisfactorily recorded until some time elapsed after the death of those who had participated in the events. And in the presentation of admitted historical incidents, underlying forces which shaped and directed them were all but ignored. As a rule the human element was subtracted from the recorded narrative.

This attitude has been modified. Apostles of the "New History" have been so successful in spreading their propaganda during the last few years that a distinct change in historical text-book writing has resulted. While we are still far from the ideal, even a cursory comparison of the new with the old will show that it has been extended to many phases of the subject. The style is more inviting. Emphasis has been shifted. The content has been extended. Military events have been pushed into the background. Political affairs have been interpreted usually in the light of contemporary social and economic influences. Interests of the people have been studied somewhat as forces in history making. An authentic record of "current events" has been attempted, and some effort made to indicate their significance.

Some exemplifications of these changes may be found in the volumes under review. Of the three Professor Schlesinger's approaches more nearly the demands made by advanced scholarship. He is not only more familiar with the material but he has given more thought to the subject. The result is a more mature narrative; a more completely rounded presentation of the subject. One of the tests of writers of historical text-books in United States History is to be found in their treatment of recent occurrences. In this field Pro-

fessor Schlesinger reveals the qualities of the trained workman. His personal feelings are under too complete control at times, and in the midst of contemporary passions and prejudices he maintains a degree of sanity not commonly found among those who have written on that period. The charming personality and fascinating career of Theodore Roosevelt have as little effect upon the writer's poise and self-control as do the more prosaic personalities of Warren G. Harding and Calvin Coolidge. The same absence of bias characterizes his account of America's participation in the World War.

Professor Schlesinger's style is usually determined by the character of his theme. Roosevelt supports his reform measures "with all the evangelistic fervor and bulldog tenacity of his dynamic nature," and "his virile personality and pungent utterances helped to dramatize, in the common mind, the struggle between the forces of democracy and of special privilege." Woodrow Wilson "possessed a literary style, which made of his messages and speeches fine tapestries woven of noble and luminous phrases." Warren G. Harding is characterized as a man of "modest and conciliatory temperament and ordinary ability," whose "elevation was hailed with satisfaction by countless persons who sought relief from an aggressive personality."

Despite its admirable qualities the reviewer leaves Professor Schlesinger's volume somewhat disappointed. There is lacking the courageous interpretation and some of the freshness of presentation which he had expected to find from the author of *New View Points in American History*.

Professor Hockett's volume, which is the first of the two composing *A Political and Social History of the United States*, is not strikingly different from others that have

covered the same field. In 398 pages of subject matter including the period from 1492 to 1828, he has given 224 to that period preceding the establishing of the national government. In the 174 pages devoted to the national era we find the old familiar material presented with little of that "new charm" by which he justifies a "twice told tale." The account of social influences is not as complete as the title of the work would justify one to expect. He has not read as widely nor has he given as much thought to the subject as his colleague has. Indeed his bibliographical notes contain omissions which can hardly be excused on the ground that he confines his references to "a rather severely restricted list of secondary works."

Professor Harlow is clearly infatuated with the idea of making his subject interesting to college students. The cold, stern, puritanical presentation of history is successfully avoided. Old materials and interpretations have been set to a sort of jazz style of narration, and one finds himself carried through the principal events between the fifteenth and twentieth centuries with something of the gusto the author experienced in writing the volume. It is evident that he has read extensively and has exerted himself to gather spicy illustrations with which to enliven his narrative. The reviewer predicts for the volume a cordial reception by the audience for whom it was intended.

A quality common to the three volumes is a commendable handling of American foreign affairs. The authors have broken through the line of demarcation within which the advocates of isolation have attempted to confine the interests of the United States and have recognized, at least by implication, the influences which contact with foreign nations have had

upon the growth of the country. This is encouraging.

CARDINAL GOODWIN.

Mills College.

AMERICA IN CIVILIZATION. By Ralph E. Turner. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1925. xvi, 411 pp. \$4.00.

America in Civilization embraces a considerably wider scope than its title implies. Its aim is to introduce the freshman college student "to life as life has been disclosed by the natural and social sciences; to make him conscious of his relations to other people in society; and also to indicate to him how these relations happen to be as they are, and what the processes and forces affecting them may be (preface)." This is the first book in the nature of a text for "orientation" courses in the social sciences which makes any considerable effort to present *all* the classes of influence tending to shape life.

The book may be thought of as comprehending five parts, though it is published with only chapter divisions. The scheme of organization results from the author's conception of life as affected by three sets of forces: (a) the physical environment (chapter 3); (b) original nature or the biological heritage (chapter 4); and (c) the social heritage (chapters 5 to 10). The first two chapters are introductory, the very first stating the aims and problems and the second the theory of evolution. Chapters eleven and twelve apply the ideas developed in the earlier chapters specifically to American life in its individual (chapter 11) and social (chapter 12) aspects. The division dealing with man's social heritage includes a chapter on each of the following: The family; economic organization; education; religion; political organization; and social values. Each chapter is divided roughly into four parts: explanation or descrip-

tion of the activity dealt within the chapter; discussion of the psychological basis of that activity; indication of the historical forms which the activity has assumed from time to time; and description of the form of the activity as it is found in contemporary American experience.

As to the general plan of the book it may be added that bibliographies are copious. A special list of twenty-eight works has been provided, and references to specific parts of these books are given with each chapter. Although this material is very helpful, it seems that the writer has not always been happy in his selection of books. His arrangement of them is even less successful. Again at the end of each chapter is appended a longer list of readings for students who become interested in some particular subject. These bibliographies range in length from two to fourteen pages. They seem not to have been very carefully selected, though they include most of the leading books on the subjects. Little effort has been spent on arrangement of these book lists, and the number of mistakes in authors' names, in titles, and in dates of publication give further evidence that little care has been exercised on this part of the work.

As a whole the book is successful. From the point of view of subject-matter, it represents, to quote one of the reviewer's colleagues, "an extraordinary synthesis." The contents are drawn from numerous fields, and by and large are remarkably accurate. There are, it is true, certain inaccuracies in matters of detail. Examples are found in the author's explanation of "economic distribution" (p. 129); in his conception of the commercial revolution (p. 136); and in his speaking of the United Mine Workers (p. 156) as coordinate with the American Federation of Labor (to select from only that part

of the subject-matter with which the reviewer is most intimately acquainted). Moreover the book is teachable, despite the fact that, in many passages, the style is unnecessarily heavy. It certainly stimulates thought on the part of students in the reviewer's classes in Emory University where it is being satisfactorily used as a text.

The most important shortcoming that occurs to the reviewer is poor arrangement of details. Examples of a bibliographical character have already been given; an instance from the text is the mixing of two kinds of classifications of the family (pp. 111, 112). Another wellnigh indefensible defect is the occasional use of a string of words merely for rhetorical effect (especially on pages 393-395). But the work constitutes the first real text for orientation courses in social science.

JAMES W. MARTIN.

Emory University.

THE INDESTRUCTIBLE UNION: RUDIMENTS OF POLITICAL SCIENCE FOR THE AMERICAN CITIZEN. By William McDougall. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1925. ix, 249 pp. \$1.50.

In the preface to this, the second of a series of books dealing with American nationalism, Professor McDougall says: "I must confess to a conservative bias. I have a great admiration for and sympathy with America as it was in the bygone years; and I am conscious of a desire that the America of the future shall retain some semblance of the America of the past." Those to whom such a prejudice is anathema, will certainly not like the book; but those whom such a confession does not frighten away will find that Professor McDougall's admiration by no means blinds him to grave defects in the body politic.

The argument begins with a discussion of what constitutes a nation. Avoiding

the pitfalls of definition, Professor McDougal sets forth his ideas by a description of the ideal nation, an ideal never wholly reached, but toward which different nations have more or less closely approximated. He makes an excellent case for the current American belief that the ideal nation must be democratic. More of a challenge to ordinary American thinking is his twofold test of national greatness; that on the one hand a nation should possess a general diffusion of the comforts of life among all classes, that is, private greatness; and on the other hand, that it should maintain a high place in the world, judged not only by power, but equally by a generous and courageous use of that power, and by high intellectual and aesthetic achievements. Professor McDougall believes that an autocratically governed country may more readily excel in public greatness, but that high achievement in individual well-being is attainable only by a democracy; and that whereas the autocracy can acquire private greatness only by making itself over into a democracy, the democracy which has already acquired private greatness may by further effort add public greatness.

This abstract discussion of what makes a nation is followed by a consideration of the different racial and environmental factors involved in the development of the United States. The most valuable portion of the book is that which analyzes present-day perils to the nation. Under the head of disrupting influences, the author considers excessive immigration, religious differences, and the negro problem. The danger from immigration he believes has been met, and that the present restrictive policy will be maintained. On the religious side, the danger which he apprehends is not, strictly speaking, due to differences, but rather to the possibility of Roman Catholic political domination.

However one may feel on this question, the candid reader will respect the good-tempered courage with which it is discussed. Here again the author is optimistic; he believes that political domination is impossible with restricted immigration, and that only where domination is possible, is Roman Catholicism a menace.

The negro problem, on the other hand, in the author's opinion is a real and increasing danger to national progress. His discussion of it is thoughtful and original, and it deserves attention if not agreement. He rudely challenges the usual American boast that we, of all nations, are free from caste, by the assertion: "They (colored people) form a caste more rigidly marked off and separated from their fellow citizens than any caste of India." Professor MacDougall sees three possible attitudes toward this problem. The first, held by the great majority of white people, is that of *laissez faire*, combined with a hope of doing away with some of the worst evils, such as lynching. This attitude can succeed only if the negroes remain in the distinct minority, and politically undisciplined. Professor McDougall points out that the restriction of immigration is likely to have both a relative and an absolute effect in increasing the numbers of the colored race—absolute, since the greater difficulty of getting common laborers will tend to make them more prosperous. One sentence in this connection is worth quoting: "It is necessary resolutely to face the unpalatable fact that, under modern conditions, the race is not to the strong and the ambitious, but rather to those that are poor in spirit yet obstinately fertile." The second attitude toward this problem lies in an acceptance of the melting-pot theory, that is, that the negroes should be amalgamated with the whites to form a

new race. Such a policy is humane; if accepted by the nation it would be practical and fairly rapid; and it is thorough-going. Professor McDougall rejects it, however, for two reasons. First, our very incomplete knowledge of racial biology gives no adequate grounds for confidence in the results of an experiment which, once undertaken, could never be reversed. And second, even if desirable, a policy of amalgamation would be so repugnant to the feelings of the majority that any attempt to apply it would exacerbate race antagonism.

In treating the third possibility, that of segregation, Professor McDougall dismisses the first form—local segregation within each state and city—as merely a compromise with *laissez faire*, a ghetto policy which engenders hardship and ill-feeling. As the only hope of a solution, he puts forward the policy of thorough-going segregation. He advocates, as "an act of justice far surpassing any hitherto achieved by any nation" that the United States should purchase, either in the southern part of our own country or elsewhere, a tract capable of supporting fifteen or twenty million people. "There such conditions, social political, and economic, must be created that the territory will strongly attract the colored people of America. They must be encouraged, aided, and supported, by all the resources of White America, to seize the opportunity to build up a Negro civilization in the territory assigned to them. And, though at first they must be guided and protected by the American Government, they must be assured of complete independence when and if they shall demand it with an authentic voice." The difficulties in the way of such a solution are tremendous; but one who has read Professor McDougall's argument (of which this review gives an inadequate idea)

will be reluctant to pronounce them insuperable.

The book concludes with a chapter entitled "America Among the Nations." This will hardly be palatable to One Hundred Percenters, yet it is expressed with no less courtesy than straightforwardness. In brief, the author accuses the United States of having failed to bear that part in the world which her power and prosperity demand, in other words, to grow up. He excuses her failings hitherto, on the ground that she was young, but claims that this excuse ought not to be invoked any longer.

The style of the book is very uneven. Some whole chapters are written in simple and vigorous language; but other sections suggest Fourth of July oratory. "Pathless forests," "smiling fields," "simple piety," and the like, give an undeserved impression of mere flag-waving. There is also a regrettable tendency to call names; all who oppose nationalism are "superior persons" (with quotation marks); those in whom patriotism has a tinge of chauvinism are coarse and ignorant, vulgar and stupid.

The most serious defect of the book is suggested in the above phrases. The kind of nationalism which Professor McDougall praises has much to commend it; but he fails to establish his case that all history has been a struggle for recognition of the nationalistic principle, and his excellent program of internationalism is weakened by an insistence that nations as we know them are the ultimate type. The nature of the book hardly calls for a thorough treatment of political evolution, but it is unfortunate to use a false reading of the past as a basis for prophecy-ing the future.

All in all, the book succeeds very well in its avowed object. It is clear, honest, and thoughtful. It displays little origi-

nality; but—whatever the cover jacket may say—the author makes no claim to any. It is probable, however, that his sympathetic attitude will give his criticisms more weight with the average reader than the sweeping diatribes of many more profound critics.

ELISABETH ANTHONY DEXTER.
Skidmore College.

ENGLAND ON THE EVE OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION. By Louis W. Moffit. New York: International Publishers, 1925. xxi, 312 pp. \$3.50

It is perhaps because so much of our economic history has been written by economists rather than by historians that the predominant field of interest has always been the period since the Industrial Revolution. The historian, often with more or less of an antiquarian's interest, dips into all periods of history; the economist in many cases turns to economic history to secure an explanation of the present economic organization. Undoubtedly, the transformation that occurred in England in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries laid the basis of our present material culture. Still, its effects are apt to be exaggerated, or only imperfectly understood, in proportion as we fail to make ourselves familiar with the characteristics of the period immediately preceding it. With the history of that period as a background, the Industrial Revolution becomes the culmination of a series of changes that began many years before, with the development of commerce, the growth of a surplus agriculture, and the rise of such urban centers as London.

The present book is a study of the background of the Industrial Revolution, concerned particularly with the period 1740-1760, its main purpose being to suggest the way in which the economic organization of England was being prepared

for the revolutionary changes of the latter part of the century. That aim has been, on the whole, very successfully fulfilled.

The full title warns the reader that there is "special reference to Lancashire;" this narrowing of the field is most noticeable in the first half of the book, which deals with agricultural and agrarian changes. The only two maps included are restricted to Lancashire, which seems a bit unfortunate. The book is almost equally divided between agriculture and industry; it deals not only with economic technique, but with the questions of social organization, such as the tenure of land, the control of industry, the conditions of labor, the problem of poverty. Marketing processes, of both agricultural and industrial products, are discussed. From this summary of the topics covered, it will be understood that in less than 280 pages of text, many things must be only suggested, and brevity must be a constant rule.

Facts are presented in compact form, though not so as to destroy the readability of the book. The topic of finance is left all but untouched; and transportation is very summarily dealt with. Perhaps that is the clearest way of indicating the minor importance of those phases of economic life before the appearance of large-scale production. That the dynamic character of the period is constantly kept before the reader is the surest evidence of the author's success.

A bibliography is included, suggestive rather than complete, which would have been made more valuable by the addition of critical comment. Criticism might be made of minor points; there are a few places where errors in the manuscript have not been checked; and a few quotations to which no citations are attached (as, for instance, in pages 77, 87, and 160). Much more significant is the failure to stress regional differences in the methods

by which the cloth industry was carried on. A sharper differentiation might well have been made between the independent domestic system, where the small master owned his raw materials and tools and earned a profit; and the dependent domestic system (growing in relative importance in the years preceding the Industrial Revolution), in which the worker received his raw materials and sometimes his tools from the merchant employer, who paid him a piece-wage for his labor.

On the whole, the book furnishes a very welcome addition to the library of the economic historian, in a field as yet but little exploited. It will be especially useful, as the author hopes, in furnishing the student a foundation for the study of the Industrial Revolution.

MILDRED HARTSOUGH.

Smith College.

AN ECONOMIC HISTORY OF RUSSIA. By James Mavor. 2nd edition. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1925. Two volumes, xxxv, 614 pp., and xxii, 630 pp. \$15.00.

RUSSIA TODAY. New York: International Publishers, 1925. 284 pp. \$1.75.

It is a source of satisfaction that the new edition of Professor Mavor's Economic History of Russia had appeared before his untimely death last October. First published eleven years ago, this book will probably remain for some time the outstanding work in its field for those students who do not read the Russian language. The emphasis in Professor Mavor's work lies upon agrarian history, quite properly so, since the Russian population is even now 90 per cent agricultural. The second volume is divided between the development of industry and the course of the revolutionary movement in Russia, with the stress upon the latter.

Very few changes have been made in the new edition. The Introduction has been rewritten and enlarged; notes and

text have been modified in a few places in view of the changed situation resulting from the recent war; and the Epilogue has been expanded. No attempt was made, however, to deal with the Russia of 1917 and following. If was Professor Mavor's intention to write a separate volume on the Russian Revolution; it is to be deeply regretted that this plan was interrupted by death.

"Russia Today" is an attempt to supply the information needed for such a volume. It is the official report of the British Trade Union Delegation which spent something over a month in Russia in the early winter of 1924. The assertion of the delegation is that the tour was undertaken in order to secure such information as should be, but has not been, collected and published by the British government. Obviously one purpose was to secure data concerning the Russian commercial situation that might lead to a revival of trade with that nation, and thus (so the delegation hopes) reduce British unemployment.

The delegation concerned itself with the organization and operation of the Soviet government, the financial, commercial and industrial situation, and the condition of labor. The thesis of the report is that, although the War Communism of 1917-1920 caused a more or less complete breakdown of the Russian economic system, the N. E. P. (New Economic Policy) inaugurated in 1921, and carried into operation by the Communist Party, is gradually establishing a new economic order out of the chaos. The report does not minimize the extent of the break in policy marked by the introduction of the N. E. P. It is pointed out that in agriculture the peasant has now a hold on his land that is "defined in a manner entirely satisfactory to him" (p. 94). Further, the N. E. P. restored

the right of private enterprise in industry, and not only abolished communistic control in favor of nationalization, but practically opened the way for private management of industry under government supervision.

The members of the delegation have obviously taken great pains in the collection of their data, and it is their claim that they were given every facility while in Russia for full investigation on both sides of all questions, whether political or economic. Perhaps this is true, there need have been but little caution in laying bare the situation before a critic so friendly as this delegation was; and one so willing to be convinced that all is working for the best. Indeed, in a number of cases the comments of the delegation seem rather naïve. The report on labor conditions begins with a caution to the reader to remember that in Russia the workers rule. Unless this is kept in mind, the report continues, much in the Russian situation will seem "very much the same as with us." With the absolutism of the Communist Party in mind, we can agree that that seems quite possible!

A great deal of information is contained in this report, but it must be read in the light of the friendly bias of the delegation. The reader must not expect to find here the authoritative comment on the economic results of the Bolshevik Revolution. An Appendix to the report furnishes considerable evidence indicative of the falsity of the famous Zinoviev letter which contributed so much to the downfall of the Labor government in England last year.

MILDRED HARTSOUGH.

Smith College.

THE HISTORY OF THE STANDARD OIL COMPANY. By Ida M. Tarbell. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1923. Two volumes, xix, 408, and xii, 409 pp. \$7.50.

THE OIL INDUSTRY AND THE COMPETITIVE SYSTEM.
By George W. Stocking. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1923. 323 pp. \$3.50.

One of the best examples of the very rapid growth so characteristic of American industry is to be found in the development of the petroleum resources of the country, which even now ranks among our leading industries, and promises to become increasingly important in the future. Petroleum has been the basic factor in the rise of some of our newer industrial districts; it has been the storm center of our latest, and one of our greatest, government scandals; and its development furnishes an excellent example of the combination movement, which is now our absorbing problem in the formation of a social policy for the regulation of industry.

As yet, comparatively little of a permanent nature has been written concerning the oil industry. That makes the two books listed here all the more timely. Miss Tarbell's two volumes are a reissue of the book published in 1904, which has now been out of print for some time. Their reappearance is a welcome one, for they still constitute the classic description of American combination methods, as exemplified by John D. Rockefeller and his associates. The story remains unchanged; it is carried up to 1904, and ends with a chapter relating the Standard Oil Company and its business methods to the general question of a public policy, which in 1904 was as yet largely unshaped. Miss Tarbell's preface to the new printing promises a third volume for the near future, based like the first two upon documentary evidence. It is to carry the story through the dissolution suit of 1911 and its aftermath; the later problems connected with the exploitation of the public oil lands, and the diplomatic questions arising from the development of foreign oil

fields. It will doubtless be written in the same convincing and readable style as the two volumes already so well known, and will be valuable as bringing the whole study up to date.

"The Oil Industry and the Competitive System" took the first prize in the Hart, Schaffner and Marx essay contest of 1925. It may readily be classed among the better of those essays. As may be surmised from the title, it is primarily an investigation of the adequacy of the competitive system as a guide in the exploitation of our natural resources. The author is analytical rather than historical in his method, though he does begin with a survey of the position of the Standard Oil Company in the industry since the dissolution decree of 1911. His conclusion is that the control of the Standard Oil over the refining and marketing of petroleum has declined in the past two decades, though its proportion of the business is still about 50 per cent. This change, however, has been only partially due to the dissolution decree, and, in the author's estimation, is likely to continue at a more rapid pace in the future, as the exhaustion of the domestic petroleum supply forces a competition among the constituent Standard Oil companies as well as independents for the control of outside sources of petroleum.

For the most part, Professor Stocking is concerned with the wastes in the petroleum industry, and he has amassed an impressive amount of evidence. In the production of petroleum, he enumerates six kinds of waste. Of these, the waste through duplication of equipment is only one and that not the most important. Far more significant is the failure to bring up a large proportion of the petroleum from the underground pockets a failure which is due largely to the competitive character of oil production. The discussion of this topic leads to treatment,

well-handled though brief, of the main features of the geological occurrence of petroleum and the mechanics of its exploitation. The conclusion is that competitive production of petroleum necessarily emphasizes the extraction of the oil before any one else can tap the supply by other wells. Thus the stress is upon immediate gain rather than ultimate efficiency in oil extraction. The social good is inevitably sacrificed to individual profit.

Next in the indictment of the competitive system comes the evidence of the wastes in the transportation of petroleum, in the manufacture of its products, and in the marketing of these products. Following this comes one of the most interesting chapters in the book, on our national petroleum lands, in which is included a brief but rather damning section on the naval oil leases of recent notoriety. This concludes the discussion of the main thesis of the book—the proof of "waste on a scale sufficiently grand to excite the admiration of the most profligate." The author's contention is that the fault lies in an inevitable maladjustment "between the physical facts of oil geology and the ownership basis of oil production." He makes some suggestions for modifying the latter, in the direction, necessarily, of increased government control.

It is no longer surprising to us to learn that competition, instead of being the life of trade, often goes a long way toward being its death. That this is particularly true of the oil industry seems to be proved by Professor Stocking's careful and thorough study of the facts. It is such impartial surveys as his which should form the basis for a comprehensive reshaping of government policy with a view to future needs rather than to present profits.

MILDRED HARTSOUGH.

Smith College.

READINGS IN ECONOMIC HISTORY OF AMERICAN AGRICULTURE. By Louis Bernard Schmidt and Earle Dudley Ross. New York: Macmillan Company, 1925. xii, 582 pp. \$3.00.

This publication, as its title signifies, is a valuable collection of studies in domain of agricultural history drawn from a wide scope of authoritative writers. The arrangement of the readings follows a chronological order reaching from the colonial period until the present, and by being so prepared they constitute a valuable textbook. The material is grouped around the different periods of American history in accordance with particular trends and special influences which have operated in shaping the rural economic organization and movements. The conditions of agriculture as found in various sections during the colonial period are exceedingly well treated by the inclusion of a variety of readings. "Some Permanent Influences of Aboriginal Cultivation" by Clark Wissler, "Colonial Tenures" by Beverly W. Bond, Jr., and "The Colonial Frontier" by Frederick Jackson Turner are examples of the selections. The same adequacy of high class studies marks the later periods which are designated as "Plantation and Frontier" 1776-1860, "The Agrarian Revolution and the Settlement of the Far West," 1860-1914, and "Reorganization and Readjustment, 1914-1924." Unity of thought characterizes the various divisions of the book and also the whole. Each reading makes its contribution to the general subject as appropriately as if it had been written for that specific purpose. This element is especially commendable in view of the wide variety of sources from which the material has been drawn and the detail of treatment as found in the selections. Further, the material is well balanced with none being marked by a weak discussion of their subject, and the

collection represents an immense amount of documentary research. Even with this unity, however, it is as much a source book as a text and could profitably be used as a supplement to any other standard work on American economic history.

One feature that is especially noticeable is the intelligent assembling of data which throw light upon the course of events in past agricultural crises. The similarity of attempts that have been used in the earlier periods of our history to those that have been advocated and resorted to within the last five years demand recognition if any student is to appreciate the present dilemma, and no person can read these articles and not secure such an appraisal. The descriptions respecting the fluctuations of prices, the economic depressions, the attempts to regulate prices, the distress of the farmers as described for the colonial period, the periods following the war of 1812 and the Civil War read like they had been written for 1922.

This publication gives a background in the economic life of rural America that throws immense light upon the whole of our history. The sectional struggles in American life that characterize the past and is still prevalent has its roots in the economic interests of the various regions. What the interests in different localities are dependent upon the organization, and standards, types, and methods of production. Cotton, corn, wheat, livestock and dairying, all have exerted and still are exerting influences that have determined governmental policies and industrial organizations and output. Indeed a close relationship exists between the growth of our cities and the spread of these various products. "The Corn Kingdom," "The Northwest," "The Dairy Section," etc., are descriptive terms for regions that illustrate the different agricultural interests

and forces. Further, the relationship between American agriculture and foreign markets has been very close. In periods of the past production has had to be adjusted to meet the changed conditions in this field. Perhaps the difficulty of adjustment is the fundamental element in rural life today. If inferences in drawing parallels are justifiable this last conclusion may be inferred from the different selections. Really, the nature of these readings throughout the book are such that present day practices might easily be helped by conclusions that may be drawn from them. If history repeats itself then the economic movements in history must do likewise and these readings have made it possible for any student to secure a rational basis for interpreting present day conditions and trends which may be a repetition of past history.

To the rural sociologist this volume offers a valuable contribution to the understanding of farmers' movements. The Grange, the Farm Bureau, and similar organizations possess two aspects, the social and economic. In understanding the various movements both these phases must be considered. The descriptions of them have not been limited to the economic, but include the social as it is impossible to separate the two. Along with these an interpretation is made of the recent agricultural agitation. On the whole this book presents material that very adequately furnishes an opportunity for understanding rural America from the historical, economic, and incidentally the social viewpoint.

BRUCE L. MELVIN.

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L'ANNÉE SOCIOLOGIQUE. Nouvelle Série, Tome I (1923-1924). Paris: Librairie Félix Alcan, 1925. Fascicule I, pp. 192. Annual subscription, 55 fr.

SOCIOLOGIE ET PHILOSOPHIE. By Emile Durkheim. Preface by C. Bouglé. Paris: Librairie Félix Alcan, 1924. 143 pp. 9 fr.

L'OEUVRE D'HENRI DE SAINT-SIMON. TEXTES CHOISIS AVEC UNE INTRODUCTION PAR C. BOUGLÉ. NOTICE BIBLIOGRAPHIQUE PAR ALFRED PERRIER. Paris: Librairie Félix Alcan, 1925. 264 pp. 10 fr.

Last year advance information was given in these pages of the plan to revive *L'Année Sociologique*, of which twelve volumes were issued under the general editorship of the late Emile Durkheim, from 1896 to 1912. This revival is being undertaken under the direction of Professor Marcel Mauss who has associated with him Professors Hubert, Bouglé and Fauconnet of the Sorbonne and Simiand of the *Conservatoire national des Arts et Métiers*, with whom will collaborate members of the newly founded *Institut français de Sociologie*. The original plan will be followed. That is, there will be in each volume from 120 to 180 pages of "Original Memoirs" and 400 to 450 pages of critical bibliographies covering many fields of sociological interest. Each volume will be issued in sections which will not be sold separately. This first section includes a brief résumé of the unpublished manuscripts of Durkheim, an *Essai sur le Don, Forme archaïque de l'échange* by Mauss, and a few pages of reviews. A photograph of Durkheim forms the frontispiece. This work should receive a warm welcome from all serious students of sociology in America.

The little volume on *Sociologie et Philosophie* is the reprint of three of Durkheim's essays entitled: *Représentations individuelles et Représentations collectives*, *Détermination du Fait moral*, and *Jugements de Valeur et Jugements de Réalité*. These essays, published respectively in 1898, 1906 and 1911, give the philosophical basis of much of Durkheim's thinking. He sought to avoid the morass of metaphysics on the one hand and the sterility

of a narrow materialism on the other. He felt that the sociologist, as a specialist in the study of social phenomena, could make his own contribution to those philosophical problems centering around concepts of value, morals and civilization. It cannot be asserted that he wholly avoided metaphysical assumptions; nor that a certain mysticism did not attach to his theory of collective representations. But in view of the affinity of his fundamental concepts to those of Tarde, Sumner and the cultural anthropologists, it is well to have these essays in convenient form.

St. Simon was undoubtedly one of the most fecund geniuses and surest prophets of the last century. Comte owed more to him than he was glad to confess. St. Simon was ardently attached to two ideas which have largely governed the evolution of western society during the last century and a quarter, namely, the value of science as the means of social amelioration and the value of democracy and humanitarianism as moral forces. Professor Bouglé has arranged the St. Simonian writings under four headings: the philosophy of the sciences, the organization of peace, socialized industrialism, and the religion of the future.

F. H. Hankins.

THE PRINCIPLES OF COMPARATIVE SOCIOLOGY. By Nicholas Petrescu. London: Watts & Co., 1924. xi, 191 pp. 7s. 6d.

Professor Petrescu prides himself on laying the foundations of a new science, comparative Sociology. This he defines (p. 21) as "The science of the process of social differentiations." His primary theses may be briefly stated: (1) Human nature is everywhere the same; (2) the differentiations of culture from group to group must be explained on the basis of psychological reactions; (3) these differences are related to group differences in

special environment and in time; (4) there is no absolute standard for judging such group values as language, morals, and religions; (5) since local and national differentiations are all thus explained in terms of the same human nature and similar cultural processes, the existing demarcations of nations and the sovereign position of the state are artificial and the chief source of major conflicts; (6) what is now needed is a League of Nations, not like the present one designed to reconcile the interests of rival sovereignties, but taking as its purpose the unification of the cultural aims of all mankind.

All of these propositions are already familiar and it may be questioned whether Professor Petrescu is as much of an innovator as he seems to think. He has made an excellent statement of the necessity for an objective viewpoint. To write from left to right is not a proof of superiority over a people who write from right to left. Moreover one may admit that there are no absolute standards for the evaluation of group values. But one is not thereby left in the helpless state of not being able to distinguish primitive magic from modern science; and this carries many correlated judgments. The author seems to think that we can easily make up our minds to forget nationality differences and put ourselves outside of our own traditions and in the other fellow's position and make his interests our own. Even a philosopher can only approximate this ideal; a people never can. His aim seems to be too immediately practical, namely, the establishment of world peace by a formula of comparative sociology. As a pure science this discipline will perceive that even the sentiment of national unity, the theory of state sovereignty and all else that now goes into the anarchy of the world as a whole are among those values which are

to be objectively studied, historically and causally, but not to be swept aside by a pious hope. Professor Petrescu's approach is too abstruse, too lacking in psychological realism.

F. H. HANKINS,

THE SUBURBAN TREND. By H. Paul Douglass. New York: The Century Company, 1925. xii, 332 pp. \$2.50.

EMPTY CHURCHES. By Charles Josiah Galpin, New York: The Century Company, 1925. x, 150 pp. \$1.50.

The appearance of *The Suburban Trend* in the series of the Century Rural Life Books which are being edited by Dr. Galpin shows that the workers in the rural field realize the ever increasing influence of urban forces upon rural life. This book we hope, is not the end but the beginning of studies in this "no man's land" between the two sociological fields. The purposes of the book seem to be three: an analysis of the present population trend with respect to suburbs for the large cities in the United States, a description of the life as found in those places, and an evaluation of the possibility of the suburbs becoming the means for the solution of the city problem of congestion. The author has very admirably fulfilled the first purpose in the handling of statistical data. The whole suburban situation respecting population has been presented in such a way that it is conducive to further research.

The fulfillment of the second purpose has been well done so far as the data available permitted. As to its scientific accuracy not so much can be said, although the difficulty is more due to the lack of accurate scientific terminology or tools than to defect in work. The attempt to show how the suburbs may become the refuge of the city is probably more an expression of hope than an ac-

curate evaluation of forces that tend to make the suburbs fulfill such needs.

A real contribution is made in the classification of suburbs into industrial, recreational and residential. Likewise the attempt to determine what a suburb is on the basis of the ratio of families to houses adds a new note in analysis of this problem. At the same time there is an appreciation of the difficulty of clear differentiation or absolute standards. The postulation of a law of suburban development is worthy of distinctive mention. The author's own words are, "In urban areas of similar topographical and economic character, going out is proportionate to going up. Except where physical barriers prevent the equivalent spread of a city, or where, on the other hand, the nature of the economic life facilitates or compels its spread, cities with the greatest excess of families over dwellings tend to show the higher proportion of suburban population and vice-versa" and a second generalization is: "The more distant from a city the less closely related a suburb is and the more independent is its community life. The reverse is also true" (pp. 28-29).

In some cases the author has made loose statements in the realm of social theory which show inadequate thinking, or at least no proofs are offered for such conclusions. Thus he speaks of "the suburban social instincts" which has no meaning in a scientific sense. Further, he implies that in some way the suburb furnishes a place for the wholesome expression of primitive nature, whatever that is. "Accordingly the Villager, which is the original human nature in us and is closely akin to our inner selves, gets release in the suburbs as he rarely does in the city" (p. 188). One other example of such looseness is sufficient. "The care of the furnace adds at least a cubit to the suburbanite's mechanical and

moral stature. . . . Finally doctoring his own car tends inevitably to make him a man among men, inducting him into the great fraternity of garage-keepers and auto-mechanics and qualifying him to discuss the intricacies of farm machinery with the farmer himself" (*ibid.*).

However, the book is a valuable contribution to the statistical and descriptive sociological literature and is a worthy contribution to the growing number of Rural Life Books.

Empty Churches is a plea, a challenge and an exhortation for a rural church that functions. The material is drawn from facts that the Institute of Social and Religious Research have gathered and from the wide and observing experience of the author. The purpose which is stated in the preface, is "To take everybody to the rural communities with wide open eyes, to see the empty churches, the children without God, the farm tenants without religion, the parson on the run for the city, and the beginning of a new type of rural church." This purpose the author has very adequately accomplished. Thus this little volume is not a scientific treatise but a "call to service" for a more adequate religion for rural, and especially farm people. Indeed the author has fulfilled the aims as given above; and in a charming and conversational style that is characteristically his. The book is for the lay reader, the farmer, the merchant, the small-town man or for any other person who has no adequate conception of the religious needs in rural life.

Both the dark and the hopeful side of rural religious organizations are pictured after the various maladjustments of rural life like farm tenancy, lack of church attendance and the absentee pastoral service are described and illustrated; and the community church is discussed as a panacea for these evils. There is a lack of

certainty, or of scientific evidence that such will cure the various rural ills, but one must ask what else will? It is to be hoped that this little book may prove a help in stimulating activities for better rural churches.

BRUCE MELVIN.

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OLD AMERICANS. By Ales Hrdlicka. Baltimore: The Williams & Wilkins Company, 1925. xiii, 438 pp. \$10.00.

The latest work of Dr. Ales Hrdlička, curator of physicalanthropology, the United States National Museum, "Old Americans" (The Williams & Wilkins Company, Baltimore, \$10) is a comprehensive and definitive study of the bodily measurements and physiology of our pioneer families. This important book indicates that the "melting pot" is something more than a figure of speech, and that Americanization is something more than a sociological phenomenon. Dr. Hrdlička says that the early Americans soon came to constitute a distinct physical type, which is now giving way to a new one.

The Old Americans came largely from the British Isles. In 1790 the English, Welsh, Scotch, and Irish made up at least seven-eights of our population. A large part of the remainder were Dutch, French, and German.

But nationalistic composition does not mean racial composition, and the origin of our pioneer stock is complex. Indeed, Dr. Hrdlička says that "*a priori* all that may be deduced about it is that from the beginning it was a mixture of most, if not all the elements of the white race, though the British and western European tribes predominated." Nations tend, however, to approach a certain homogeneity of physical types. "The nations

of today are as a rule composed of former more or less heterogeneous elements though after centuries of intermarriage and existence as linguistic and political units such groups tend to develop similar habits, similar bearing, similar behavior, and gradually even more and more similar physical characteristics, especially as to physiognomy, thus coming to constitute fairly readily recognizable types."

This means that the British settlers of America were not of a single physical type. It is discomforting to believers in the Anglo-Saxon myth to be told that "upon analysis every larger European group, even the Scandinavians, or 'Nordics' proper, is found to be a composite of older groups which generally represent all the three main strains of white man, namely the Nordic, Alpine, and Mediterranean. . . . The types of the English, Welsh, Scotch, and Irish people are all intermediate types, though there are individuals among them who resemble either the Nordic or the Alpine or the Mediterranean white man."

Dr. Hrdlička carried on for fourteen years investigations into the physical characteristics of the Old Americans. The large group studied averaged 150 years family residence in this country. Three generations was the minimum requirements set for specimens.

The conditions in the New World, abundance of food, the healthfulness of the country, the natural and political freedom, and intermarriage led to a blend which constituted a new physical type: the American, in the same limited sense that there is an English, French, or German type.

"The Old American stock," Dr. Hrdlička says, "stands in general nearer than any other branch of whites to the stock of Great Britain. But it is not, or no more, identical with the same: it

is American. This is near the English, Irish, and Scotch types, but is at least as different from any of these as these are different from each other. From a purely morphological standpoint all the more important characteristics shown by this Old American stock are favorable, showing in some respects perceptible improvement and in none a degeneration. With rational guidance the improvement may well be extended."

For some time now, however, the old stock has been in a minority. It cannot hope to continue pure. It will give way in time to a new type, influenced in the main by the German, Irish, Scandinavian, Italian, Slav, and Jewish immigrants who have come from Europe since 1820. Due to the isolation of nationalistic groups, "the country in general will probably retain, for some generations, a somewhat speckled character as to the type of its population." Yet sooner or later the old will give way to the new American.

According to Dr. Hrdlička, the new American "will not be far from the Old American type of the present, and yet will be somewhat different, particularly in physiognomy and in behavior. This Neo-American will in all probability be, in the average, tall, more sanguine, and perhaps less spare than the old. It will remain an intermediary white type in pigmentation, head form, and other respects."

What of the biological and cultural results of this mixture of peoples? The conclusions of this eminent scientist are worth quoting in full: "And it (the new American) may well be expected to be a wholesome and effective type, for mixtures such as those from which it has resulted are, so far as scientific research shows, not harmful but rather beneficial, and conditions of life as well as environment in this country are still propitious.

"The future of the Old American stock, therefore, need cause no concern. All available anthropological evidence points to the fact that just as the older population so the later comers to this country have been undergoing a gradual physical improvement, leading in stature and other respects in the direction of the type of the old Americans. None of these newcomers are physically so different from the older stock that the admixture with them could be regarded as of possible biological danger. It is more likely that the newer admixture into the American stock, which is everywhere proceeding, will on the whole prove a wholesome stimulus and a leaven that will result in a substantial benefit for the future. The newer admixtures will retard the completion of a definite American physical type, but there is no indication that they constitute any real danger."

The last paragraph of "Old Americans" is an indication of its broad point of view:

"Just what the new Americans will be in world affairs will depend in the main upon the soundness of their organization and training and upon circumstances. So far as physique is concerned, the indications seem decidedly hopeful."

MAURICE GREER SMITH.

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HAUNTED HOUSES. By Camille Flammarion. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1923. 390 pp.

This is the latest production from the pen of Camille Flammarion, the scholarly and eminently distinguished French astronomer. It is a heterogeneous collection of data relating to so-called psychic phenomena and occult manifestations, substantiated only by the writer's personal conclusions and opinions.

At the start of his "Epilogue," p. 379, he writes: "We must study everything, discuss everything, analyze everything,

without prejudice. . . . We must only admit that which has been proved. We must be neither credulous nor incredulous. We must study without prejudice and above all, we must remain free and independent." On page 386 he writes: "We should always observe this double principle: 'Deny nothing a priori, admit nothing without proof,' and in the second paragraph following, he says: "If the majority of the facts stated were true, then half the knowledge acquired in physics would be invalidated."

If we "admit nothing without proof," we cannot argue from the assumption,—"if facts stated were true." Logically, to be a fact it must be true, and if not *true*, it falls short of being a *fact*, and at once drops into the realm of allegory or myth. This is a concise analysis of the subject at hand. It is either a fact or a myth. "Haunted Houses" fails to supply adequate proof of the veracity of the conglomeration of hearsay it contains; it must, therefore, be a collection of myths.

It would also seem quite befitting, before venturing into the depths of "Haunted Houses," to give a brief reference to the author and his recorded attitude. "We must only admit that which has been proved." Yet in his "mysterious Psychic Forces," (1907), he writes (p. xvii, introduction): "As for me, gentlemen, I am not sufficiently well informed to explain these mysteries. . . . Therefore, ask me nothing. I am making a sincere confession. I know nothing of the cause of these phenomena. . . . All I wanted in undertaking this examination was to have the opportunity of saying this: 'You know nothing about it; neither do I.' "

That was Flammarion's mental attitude in 1865, at the time of his first published work under the title of "Unknown Natural Forces." And on the page preced-

ing his "confession," I find this paragraph: "It amazes me, every time I think of it, that the majority of men are so densely ignorant of the psychic phenomena in question." And in explanation he wrote: "I not only do not make common cause with the Davenport brothers, but I ought furthermore to add that I consider them as placed in a very compromising situation. In laying to the account of the supernatural matters in occult natural philosophy which have a tolerable resemblance to feats of prestidigitation, they appear to a curious public to add imposture to insolence. In setting a financial value upon their talents, they seem to the moralist, who is investigating still unexplained phenomena, to place themselves on the level of mountebanks. Whatever way you look at them, they are to blame. Accordingly, I condemn at once both their grave error in assuming to be superior to the forces of which they are only the instruments and the venal profit they draw from powers of which they are not master and which it is no merit of theirs to possess."

This strange mixture of accusation, condemnation and acclamation relative to the natural and the supernatural, shows conclusively that as far back as 1865 he had already become thoroughly prejudiced in favor of the occult and religiously eschewed any willingness to analyze natural forces when they were cloaked with seeming psychic environments. He venomously assailed and accused the Davenport brothers and charged them with criminality simply because he himself was already prejudiced in favor of the occult.

Since 1865 Flammarion has produced several volumes bearing on the occult, and in each and every one he has recorded the same prejudicial convictions. At the time of writing "Haunted Houses," Flammarion appears to have been 79 years old,

so, for at least more than a half century his opinion on the occult has been established, yet he enjoins the reader to be "neither credulous nor incredulous"—"admit nothing without proof." At the same time, all through the 390 pages he gives indisputable evidence that his conclusions are absolutely without foundation in fact.

The prologue of "Haunted Houses" is filled with re-hashed hearsay stories, narration of dreams and hallucinary recurrences, many years after the dream might have been experienced or the thing have seemed to happen. The first nineteen pages are devoted to Spiritualism and Materialism and on page 2 he snaps judgment and maintains the same attitude through the 390 pages: "Let us, if you please, take a fact and analyze it. A young woman, Mlle. Z., brought to my office in Paris the following story, in which I suppress the names." The old, fictional story of love, disappointment and a climax of fatality, and at its conclusion Flammarion deliberately writes: "That is the fact as it took place. The old and convenient hypothesis of a simple hallucination no longer satisfies us today. What we must explain is the coincidence of death with apparition." He then follows up with what he considers an analysis, a conglomerate commingling of soul, mind and body, with the final observation: "The mental communication took the form described by the narrator. Such is the impression made by an examination of all the facts, and it becomes more convincing as we advance in the study of these phenomena." In this particular case, the only *evidence* Flammarion had on which to base an analysis consisted in cross-questioning himself and drawing his own deductions, all of which he put down as proof. All through the book he simply accepts statements as

facts without evidence to substantiate them. Just the usual form of logical conclusions practiced by and acceptable to "psychic students."

As acknowledgment that evidential proof is lacking, on page 52 we find: "We are forced to rely on the good faith of the narrators, on their honesty and their conscience. . . . When our information shows that we have to do with honest people, does not the simplest common sense enjoin upon us to accept the narratives, to control them as best we can, and to interpret them with attentive care, after eliminating cases of illusion and hallucination?" The eliminations are absolutely without support, other than the author's personal opinion.

He gives no evidence of having attempted investigation in any case up to page 59, on which he says: "I regret once more that people dare not give their names in full, but we must take the world as we find it." And then referring to the last case, he has cited an excerpt from Richet's "Traité de Métaphysique," he writes: "This uncle appeared to his nephew four and a half hours after his death. This is what we must admit and explain." But while he is willing to admit, he makes no effort to explain. He admits it because he is willing to believe, even without evidential proof. The fervor with which he grasps at and accepts these narrations as *truth* savors of all the subconscious innocence with which an unfortunate victim of dementia persistently repeats narrating the subject of his hallucination and, by his apparent sincerity in so doing—the strong card with the Spiritualists—almost forces the conclusion that he, too, has lost his balance on this particular subject.

He speaks about Dr. Bert Reese possessing supernormal powers. I am in a position to state that Bert Reese not only

confessed his manipulations to me, but begged me in front of witnesses not to expose him. I said I would, under condition that he would not claim supernormal powers. Richet also authenticated Argamasilla, the man with the x-ray eyes who came to America, and I discovered and exposed this youth's experiments.

In closing the first chapter, page 68, Flammarion writes: "Now that the principle of survival is established on proofs which cannot be logically refuted, we can go a little further in our metapsychical excursions." But, absolutely *no proof* seems in evidence in the entire chapter—nothing beyond Flammarion's assertions as to what he individually *is willing to believe*. This whole chapter is simply a reprinting of the old time controversial material on witchcraft and demonology.

The inconsistency of psychic students is here shown: Haunted houses are blamed on idiots, silly children, revengeful murdered persons, suicides and the like. These all seem to be endowed with supernormal power to do what they please, unrestrained after death, independently, notwithstanding the fact that spiritualists insist that phenomena can occur only through instrumentality of a medium, a mere tool of the departed. Moreover, what becomes of the souls of the normal and super-normal persons? Again, why do so *few* of the millions departed seemingly assert themselves?

I have slept in cemeteries, in haunted houses and rooms where murders have been committed, and outside of an uncomfortable feeling from loss of sleep have never had any experiences. In one haunted house in particular that I investigated at four o'clock in the morning, dishes would rattle and fall, doors would swing open, and things placed on the shelves would be thrown on the floor.

For two nights I slept there and found that a heavily laden freight train three miles away caused all this and popular romance had dubbed this house "haunted."

Flammarion must have been in a sad state of mentality when he swallowed the yarn told on page 97 by a member of the Dialectical Society of London. He always ignores the fool side, and gives importance to the willingness to believe. Page 136 seems like a re-hash of stories they used to tell about the Davenport brothers. (See "Biography of the Brothers Davenport," p. 36.) On page 141, he shuns accepting a rational explanation and plausible cause and persists in pressing his claim to phenomenal mystery. Up to page 158 Flammarion believes all the stories told him. He has made a business of gathering them by mail and otherwise, and he says: "Let me say again that we do not understand these queer things in the least. But the strictest honesty obliges me to announce them." Flammarion is an author; he has written several books, and evidently he has put this stuff together as space fillers for the purpose of building up a book. He has proved nothing and cannot prove anything, which is acknowledged on page 158 thus: "The reflections inspired by these trivialities are those which have puzzled me for years and years." On page 158 Flammarion, like all psychic devotees, dodges sane common-sense questions concerning the silliness of so-called manifestations.

Nearly eighteen pages are devoted to the narration by "the celebrated naturalist Russell Wallace," merely another hearsay, and dating back to 1891 (thirty-four years) of "extraordinary phenomena that took place in 1867 (fifty-eight years ago), and as a summary of these eighteen pages Flammarion asks: "What do these observations prove? They prove, like the

preceding ones, that there are haunted houses, and that those who deny their existence either do not know the facts or act in bad faith. We cannot take all the observers for hallucinated persons." His illogical argument continues thus: "I do not discuss explanations; I state facts. Statement is simpler than explanation."

In "Haunted Houses," Flammarion does not attempt to seek evidence but seems to be perfectly content with hearsay. He does not attempt to explain anything beyond his personal *belief*, and that he has implicit confidence in each and every one who has written him, aggregating hundreds of letters.

Flammarion apparently follows the teaching of my friend, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, believing all he hears and sees that is favorable, without the slightest spark of evidence in substantiation. I have warned Sir Arthur against several mediums. I have informed him regarding Davenport's confession to me, but nevertheless he will write things as he originally believed, and Flammarion apparently works the same way.

HOUDINI.

REALLEXIKON DER VORGESCHICHTE. Edited by Max Ebert. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter and Company, 1924, 1925 and 1926.

The remarkable progress in European pre-history is here for the first time reflected in an encyclopaedia of great erudition and thoroughness. The editor, who is a professor at Königsberg, has associated with him nearly one hundred collaborators representing the best scholarship of Germany, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and other north European countries as well as Spain, Italy and Austria. Among them are numbered such names as those of Guthe of Leipzig, Reche of Vienna, Thurnwald, Schuchardt and

Schroeder of Berlin, Schumacher of Mayence, Obermaier of Madrid, the late Oscar Montelius of Stockholm, and many others. It is a matter of regret that no French scholars were included.

The area covered includes all Europe, the Near East, and Siberia. The material included is comprehensive, covering as it does the fields of archaeology, philology, physical anthropology, ethnology, and sociology. Thus far six volumes, comprising twenty-four installments have been issued. They take the work down to "Keltisches Münzwesen." The subscription price is normally six marks per installment (7.20 marks in regular retail trade), but for a few of the sections the price has been increased because of the inclusion of an unusual number of tables, charts and illustrations. These latter are truly remarkable, being done on a special art paper, sometimes in colors.

It is a work to be unreservedly recommended. Every student dealing with any phase of European pre-history will wish to have this work at his elbow.

F. H. HANKINS.

Smith College.

THE PHANTOM PUBLIC. By Walter Lippmann. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1925, 205 pp. \$2.00.

THE MORAL STANDARDS OF DEMOCRACY. By Henry Wilkes Wright. New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1925, ix + 309 pp. \$2.00.

INFLUENCING HUMAN BEHAVIOR. By H. A. Overstreet. New York: The People's Institute Publishing Co., Inc., 1925, viii + 296 pp. \$3.00.

MAN THE PUPPET. By Abram Lipsky. New York: Frank-Maurice, Inc., 1925, 275 pp. \$2.50.

MEANS OF SOCIAL CONTROL. By Frederick Elmore Lumley. New York: The Century Co., 1925, ix + 415 pp. \$3.75.

In elementary courses in college sociology, the subject matter is frequently factorized into the forces to which man, in group life, is subjected in a passive manner, and those which man himself is

actively manipulating in his attempts to bend group life to certain ends. While this may not be altogether a precise classification its acceptance for the moment will aid in placing the five books that are being reviewed jointly here. Each of them raises problems pertaining to the conscious development of society; in one manner or another they all relate, to use Professor Ward's phrase, to social telesis. They are all contributions, varying markedly in merit, to the general subject of social control.

The five volumes may be further classified. Two of them, Overstreet's *Influencing Human Behavior*, and Lipsky's *Man The Puppet*, are popularizations; one, Lumley's book, is designed chiefly as a college text; and the remaining two, by Lippmann and Wright, are for the more mature, general reader.

All of these books reflect one point clearly, namely, that there is need for examining with care the entire field of public opinion, social control; and more generally, the problem of what one may reasonably expect in the way of results from a social machine operated upon the democratic principle. To some it may seem that these five volumes are over-wordy; that they are concerned unduly with terms and definitions. But this is not to be held against them, since they represent honest attempts to clear the ground in a field that at present is strewn with discarded, unworkable, and undeveloped ideas. The importance of studying the fields of public opinion and social control has been recognized, and yet almost no work of precise and accurate nature has been undertaken. Perhaps the complexities have been too great. Be that as it may, some of the material in certain of these books provides sufficiently definite basis for the careful analysis that should lead to further research.

¹See *book by*
2, 1925.

Unquestionably the outstanding book in this respect is Walter Lippmann's *The Phantom Public*. Mr. Lippmann is both the well trained student and the practical newspaper man. His intimate association with a paper like the New York *World* makes the matter of public opinion something more than an academic question to him. His first major contribution to the problem was in his well known *Public Opinion*. Here was stated his differentiation between the outside public and the inside administrators. In the present volume this distinction is developed with much detail. The contrast now stands out boldly, unencumbered by discussions of fact-finding agencies, which tended to confuse somewhat the earlier analysis. To many casual or hasty readers the new volume may seem a reversal of position in some essentials. Many will contend that Mr. Lippmann has lost faith. But a careful reading does not reveal this.¹ It is the refinement in detail of a trend that was unmistakable in the earlier book. While Mr. Lippmann does not deny that the public (or publics, for he is a pluralist) can or should be intelligent and enlightened on every social problem, he concludes that the public in every issue has a definite and important part to play. His is not a reaction against democracy, a loss of hope in the democratic principle. To the contrary it represents an honest attempt—one of the most honest yet written—to make the democratic principle a workable reality, and not simply an idealistic catchword. The function of the public in any dispute is to step in and demand that the parties concerned adjust the difficulty so that order may be restored. The particular public involved cannot know the facts or

details upon which settlement will be based; but it can insist that the working rules of society be enforced; it can challenge what seems to be arbitrary power. Paradoxical as it seems, the public can be brought in these matters to the point where it can act intelligently, yet in ignorance, for into the *mores* can be built up the habit of intervention, of throwing weight one way or the other, when the "insiders" who actually govern overstep the boundaries of their proper function. What the tests are by means of which any public is to judge in such matters, Mr. Lippmann elaborates with great clarity and force. His position, as now formulated, hangs squarely upon the concept of "insiders" who actually direct and do the things of society, and the outsiders, the publics, who have no facts, but are merely interested in seeing all parts of the social machine run smoothly.

It is Mr. Lippmann's pluralistic conception of society, and opinion in it, that gives his analysis such penetrating. His exposition should be almost the last word necessary to down the old bogies of group mind, community mind, and the like. To him society is a matter of innumerable adjustments between innumerable groups, on innumerable problems. Granting this, it can be concluded with him that: "We can say without theoretical qualms what common sense plainly tells us is so: it is the individuals who act, not society, it is the individuals who think, not the collective mind . . . it is the soldiers who fight and are killed, not the nation; it is the merchant who exports, not the country." Certainly a conception such as this is the starting point for any further investigation of public opinion and attitudes.

Space does not permit touching many provocative points elaborated by the author. In the judgment of the reviewer

¹See the detailed and penetrating review of the book by John Dewey, *The New Republic*, December 2, 1925.

Mr. Lippmann has gotten nearer to the heart of the problem of public opinion than any other writer. It is a book to be grappled with and pondered over.

The volume by Professor Wright in its approach is the direct antithesis of Lippmann's contribution. A more academic book would be hard to imagine. Professor Wright is professor of philosophy and social ethics at the University of Manitoba. To him democracy is an ideal, almost a spiritual conception, based on highly developed community and general "participation in an inclusive social good." In many respects, Professor Wright develops his thesis in a manner that recalls the work of Hobhouse. Starting with the assumption of a "community of human intelligence"—a rational will—he seeks to join this with the fact that intelligence always requires motor expression. On these two concepts he builds his theory of democracy. His psychological analysis is painstaking, and granting his premises, logical. But it is over the premises that most students will quarrel. Even after reading his analysis there will be many who will doubt if there can be developed in all individuals the three personal qualities upon which the ideal of democratic association rests: intellectual alertness and honesty, practical competence and loyalty, and imaginative sympathy. Hope and aspiration seem here to be confused with reality. After reading Lippmann, one could disagree, too, with the emphasis upon group mind. Lippmann's pluralism seems eminently the more practical and useful concept when it comes actually to dealing with human individuals in modern society.

In *Influencing Human Behavior* Professor Overstreet of the college of the City of New York demonstrates that a professor of philosophy can deal with realities, and

in a manner most understandable. The lectures of which this volume is composed were given to students at the New School for Social Research. Professor Overstreet has long had the reputation of being a most skilful teacher; this book, with its clarity and interesting presentation, shows that the reputation is deserved. To Professor Overstreet the chief task of the individual is to make his personality felt, and to become effective in his own particular environment. Most people, he believes, have done this in a hit-or-miss fashion, simply through failure to understand human behavior. The lectures that follow attempt to outline a more intelligent means of "getting ourselves believed in and accepted," not only in the political sphere, but in all spheres of social relationships. The key to the problem is the control of attention and the first chapters elaborate the methods of gaining this. Influencing behavior also involves knowledge of the habit systems that underlie it, and how these habit systems may be modified and reconditioned. A series of concise chapters is devoted to this. And finally, Professor Overstreet examines the "creative mind." He questions the old doctrine that the creative mind is beyond the grasp of most men; he contends that with knowledge it can be stimulated and developed. Like Lippmann, Professor Overstreet, deals in terms of specific publics, and not with a general public, "a vast, unencompassable mass." In Part II of the book he examines with care the habit systems of these publics, and finds them built up in much the same manner as the habit systems of the individual. Consequently they are to be dealt with in much the same way. There is no "hocus-pocus-change" notion; the methods of dealing with publics that Professor Overstreet expounds are grounded in well understood psychological principles.

Professor Overstreet's book is written for adult students and general readers and should be criticized from this point of view. It is a volume that can go on the shelf along with Robinson's *Mind in the Making* and Dorsey's *Why We Behave Like Human Beings*. It is eminently readable, and non-technical. Its analysis of habit psychology is lucid to a high degree. The book is one of the "lectures-in-print" series of the People's Institute Publishing Company. These are designed for adult readers who wish to learn current trends of thought, and yet who do not want to bury themselves in text-books. Professor Overstreet has added a most useful volume to the series.

How useful it is can be found through comparison with a volume having similar objectives, and yet which falls far short of achievement. This is Lipsky's *Man the Puppet*. Dr. Lipsky is a man who has apparently read widely, but to the extent that this book is evidence he has assimilated his material poorly. Ideas follow one another, with little or no attempt to weave them together. Much of the book is prosaic. And much more is dogmatic. One who has read in the field will find nothing new; one who has not will not find the material so presented as to give much insight into modern developments. Professor Overstreet leads the reader on; Dr. Lipsky merely jostles him. The two books stand as a contrast between good and bad popularization. Popularization of ideas involves more than mere summary and statement. It must take ideas and fashion them together so that they acquire connected significance. This is where Dr. Lipsky is at fault; he does not succeed in doing this.

Professor Lumley has added a popular text to the literature of social control. He does not pretend it to supplant the earlier work of men like Professor Ross.

Rather, it is supplementary material. The starting point is a definition of social control that is somewhat broader than ordinarily conceived. Professor Lumley speaks of it as "the practice of putting forth directive stimuli or wish-patterns, their accurate transmission to, and adoption by, others whether voluntary or involuntary." This control may be exerted through the use of symbols, which is the desirable method, or by force—which is usually a self-defeating procedure.

The author discusses the means of control under a rather unique series of headings, and one that varies considerably from Professor Ross's earlier classification. The means of control analyzed by Professor Lumley are rewards, praise, flattery, persuasion, advertising, slogans, propaganda, gossip, satire, laughter, calling of names, commands, threats and punishment. These are developed rather unevenly, due, perhaps, to limited space. The discussions of rewards, praise, flattery and persuasion as devices of control are skilfully handled. On the descriptive side Professor Lumley is at his best; he is weakest when he considers how the controls have developed and been invested with their power. There is a line between conscious and unconscious manipulation of the behavior of others that he has not adequately treated. Can a person be said to be using a means of social control when, for example, by ignorant gossiping he influences the behavior of others? There is certainly a contrast between gossip as a means of control, and the use of advertising, for example.

Professor Lumley is a keen observer of society. He sees individuals subjected to pressures that shape and mould their behavior. These pressures bring conformity to the codes of behavior of the innumerable groups to which the indi-

vidual belongs. The author describes in a pleasing style the operation of some of these pressures. It is a useful piece of work that he has done; it is a good be-

ginning for further and more intricate analysis.

MALCOLM M. WILLEY.

Dartmouth College.

CLASSIFIED BOOK NOTES

TRAINING FOR THE PROFESSIONS AND ALLIED OCCUPATIONS: FACILITIES AVAILABLE TO WOMEN IN THE UNITED STATES. By the Bureau of Vocational Information. New York: Bureau of Vocational Information, 1924, 742 pp. \$6.00.

One of the most accurate and authoritative books on vocations for women now available, as well as the most recent; and, if The Bureau carries out its purpose of "correcting and republishing this report periodically, so long as the need exists," its value is not likely to be questioned.

KATHARINE JOCHER.

University of North Carolina.

SURVEY OF THE CITY SCHOOLS OF MARION, ILLINOIS. By Walter S. Monroe. Urbana: Bureau of Educational Research, College of Education, University of Illinois, 1924, 55 pp.

Among the many reports of school surveys this simple report ranks as practically valuable from the standpoint of the business man interested in the economical administration of such surveys as well as the scientific educator.

ELLEN J. O'LEARY.

THE PROGRESS AND ELIMINATION OF SCHOOL CHILDREN IN ILLINOIS. By Charles W. Odell. Urbana: University of Illinois, 1925, 76 pp.

In an age when statistical tables are worshiped, any study which attempts to verify results or test the validity of an excepted interpretation of such data should be welcomed. Mr. Odell's study is an attempt to determine the reliability or accuracy of such age-grade indices as the measure of the progress of pupils through a school system, and he does this by a comparison of this method with another pos-

sible type of measures namely, indices of progress, which are computed from tables showing semesters in school and semesters of progress.

ELLEN J. O'LEARY.

SOIL AND CIVILIZATION. By Milton Whitney. New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, 1925, x, 278 pp. \$3.00.

An original work on the soils of the United States and the rôle of agriculture and agricultural processes in the history of mankind.

THE CLIMATE OF THE UNITED STATES. By Robert DeCourcy Ward. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1925, xvi, 518 pp. \$4.00.

An authoritative and comprehensive manual by the chief authority in this country.

AN ECONOMIC GEOGRAPHY OF EUROPE. By D. H. Smith. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1925, xii, 247 pp. \$1.50.

A clear introductory manual.

INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL GEOGRAPHY. By J. Russell Smith. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1925, xii, 959.

This new edition of a deservedly popular work is welcome both because of the great erudition of the author and the clear and significant manner of treatment. Professor Smith is not only interested in what things are grown in different areas and how much, but in the reactions of geographic influences and the related economic activities on the whole life of man. He combines the expert and do-

tailed information of the geographer with the theoretical interests of the economist, political scientist and sociologist.

AN INTRODUCTION TO EARTH HISTORY. By Hervey W. Shirmer. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1915, 411 pp. \$3.00.

The student of evolution will find in this textbook by the professor of palaeontology at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology a complete sketch of the history of the earth and of the life upon it. The volume opens with a discussion of matter and the place of the earth in the cosmos; it studies the stratigraphic records and the forces which brought them to pass; and concludes with a history of plant and animal life.

F. H. H.

THE MINISTRY OF HEALTH. By Sir Arthur Newsholme. New York: G. P. Putnams Sons, 1915, x, 271 pp. 5 shillings.

An authoritative survey of the history, organization and achievements of the Ministry of Health and its antecedent bodies.

WOMAN'S PHYSICAL FREEDOM. By Clelia Duel Mosher, M.D. New York: The Woman's Press, 1913, 87 pp. \$1.00.

The third revised and enlarged edition of a brief work on medical advice to women on the care of their bodies.

F. H. H.

PREVENTION OF DISEASE IN THE INDIVIDUAL. By Kenelm Winslow. Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Company, 1913, 427 pp. \$2.50.

This is the second revised edition of a thoroughly scientific but popular treatment of the methods and conditions of health maintenance and improvement for the individual. If the chapter on the prevention of nervous and mental diseases be considered too brief in view of the present importance of the subject, the remainder

of the book will be found surprisingly informing.

F. H. H.

THE THIRD GREAT PLAGUE. A Discussion of Syphilis for Everyday People. By J. H. Stokes. Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Company, 1910, 204 pp. \$2.50.

An authoritative treatment of one of the plagues which society can eliminate as soon as it loses its prudish attitude and attacks the problem with system and common sense.

F. H. H.

HEALTH THROUGH PREVENTION AND CONTROL OF DISEASES. By Thomas D. Wood and Hugh G. Rowell. Yonkers: World Book Company, 1915, pp. vi and 122. \$1.00.

This is a manual for the use of school officers and physicians.

F. H. H.

THE DEGENERATIVE DISEASES. By Lewellys F. Barker, M.D., and Thomas P. Sprunt, M.D. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1915, 254 pp.

This is the fourth volume in Harper's Public Health Series. Written for the educated public, it is at once interesting and informing, factual and philosophical. Readers of the Journal will be especially interested in the chapters dealing with the relations between health and heredity, and between health and environment, and on "Eugenics" and "Euthenics." More than half of the book is given to "Special Degenerative Diseases,"—arteries, heart, kidneys, digestive apparatus, nervous system, and endocrine glands—but there are special chapters on air, food, poisons, etc. as aetiological factors. While the authors attribute to heredity a greater rôle in the development of the individual, longevity and susceptibility or resistance to disease than to environmental factors they also point out that the latter play a greater rôle in man's life than in that of any other creature.

F. H. H.

INTERNATIONAL ASPECTS OF BIRTH CONTROL. Edited by Margaret Sanger. New York: The American Birth Control League, Inc., 1925, xii, 244 pp. \$2.00.

The first volume of the papers presented at The Sixth International Neo-Malthusian and Birth Control Conference held in New York in March, 1925. It lacks theoretical interest, because it is devoted entirely to factual reports of the state of the movement in different countries and among different classes. It covers the entire world, from eleven local branches in the United States to the movements in Japan, China, and India.

F. H. H.

THE REAL BOY AND THE NEW SCHOOL. By A. E. Hamilton. New York: Boni & Liveright, 1925, 386 pp. \$2.00.

This book is at once a work of literature and an educational tract of the first order. It is a trite saying that good teachers are born and not made; also that teaching is one of the fine arts. Mr. Hamilton's uniquely autobiographical account of his own experiences with boys is suffused with the finest spirit of democratic teacher, the subtle charm of a real personality and a canny understanding of boy psychology. One reads it as he would a story of adventure and leaves it with fresh insight into numerous educational problems, with renewed confidence in human nature and with a deepened conviction that teaching is at once the greatest and the most difficult of all callings. This book should be widely read by parents, public and private school teachers, and social workers.

F. H. H.

CAUCASIAN FOLK-TALES. Selected and Translated from the Originals by Adolf Dirr. Translated into English by Lucy Menzies. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1925, 306 pp. \$2.00.

THE MYTHOLOGY OF ALL RACES. Vol. VII. Armenian. By M. H. Ananikian. African. By Alice Werner. Edited by Canon John MacCulloch, and George F. Moore. Boston: Marshall Jones Company, 1925, pp. viii and 448.

When it is recalled that the Caucasus is the land of the Argonauts and of Prometheus, that it is in the heart of a territory inhabited by a great variety of peoples, some of them very ancient, a collection of eighty-four Caucasian tales acquires special interest. These stories are not only extraordinarily varied but also enticingly familiar because of the universal human elements revealed. Their collection and translation by a distinguished German philologist is a guarantee of their intrinsic merit.

F. H. H.

SLAVONIC NATIONS OF YESTERDAY AND TODAY. By M. S. Stanoyevich. New York: The H. W. Wilson Company, 1925, pp. xlvi and 415. \$1.40.

A collection of readings and references on Russia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, covering many phases of the life of each country. Since the magazine articles from which these selections were made were written by authorities of the first rank, the book gives a comprehensive and informing picture of the Slavic nations.

F. H. H.

NEGRO YEAR BOOK. By Monroe N. Work. Tuskegee: Negro Year Book Publishing Co., 1925, pp. viii and 544. \$1.50.

This is a veritable encyclopedia of information regarding all phases of negro life and welfare during the three years 1922-1924. While written from the optimistic viewpoint of Tuskegee, it is scholarly and objective to a very high degree, and an indispensable reference work.

F. H. H.

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My AFRICAN NEIGHBORS: MAN, BIRD AND BEAST IN NYASALAND. By Hans Coudenhove. Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1925, 245 pages. \$1.50.

INDIANS OF THE ENCHANTED DESERT. By Leo Crane. Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1925, 364 pages. \$5.00.

These two books contain material of considerable interest to the ethnologist. Both are well written and well illustrated.

RAYMOND BELLAMY.

Florida State College for Women.

ALLGEMEINE RASSENKUNDE. By Dr. Walter Scheidt. Munich: J. F. Lehmanns Verlag, 1925, xiii, 583 pp., 33 marks.

This is the first of what promises to be a two-volume work covering the whole field of race as an anthropological and sociological concept. The work is a veritable encyclopedia of extant information including numerous tables and a fair number of photographs illustrating race types and the phenomena of heredity. Interestingly enough, one may find in this German work a more complete survey of the English literature on this subject than in any existing work in English. There are 60 pages of classified bibliography.

F. H. H.

THE ANCIENT INHABITANTS OF THE CANARY ISLANDS. By Earnest A. Hooton. Cambridge: The Harvard University Press, 1925, pp. xxv, 401.

Professor Hooton's study of *The Ancient Inhabitants of the Canary Islands* is at once a monument of painstaking research in archaeology, ethnology and physical anthropology. The author's speculations on the possible origins of the Nordic race are extremely interesting, inconclusive as they necessarily are. There are many excellent plates and the original skull measurements are given in the appendix.

F. H. H.

THE AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINAL. By Herbert Basedow. Adelaide: F. W. Preece and Sons, 1915, xx, 422 pp. 30 shillings.

This is an intimate personal account of the aboriginal inhabitants of Australia by one who served many years as state geologist and as chief medical officer and chief protector of the aborigines for the Commonwealth Government in the Northern Territory.

F. H. H.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION IN THE ALEUTIAN ISLANDS. By Waldemar Jochelson. Washington: The Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1925, ix, 145 pp.

An extremely valuable and copiously illustrated account of the results of an expedition made in 1909-1910 to Kamchatka and the Aleutian Islands under the auspices of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society. Awarded a prize by the Russian Academy of Sciences, its publication was delayed by the War, and it is now being brought out through the generosity of the Carnegie Institution at Washington.

F. H. H.

TOLERANCE. By Hendrik Willem Van Loon. New York: Boni & Liveright, 1925, 399 pp. \$2.00.

It would be a serious mistake to think of Van Loon as either a historian or a social scientist. In either rôle he is even more ludicrous than his own best caricatures. If one accept *Tolerance* as a hybrid cross somewhere between literature and a preaching he will be forearmed against taking it for something other than it is, namely, an effort to express the author's admiration for heretics and non-conformists of all varieties. One may share this admiration, to a degree, without finding in this particular book any articulate reasons therefor. But in spite of too numerous loose and

dogmatic assertions and a scheme of paragraphing which reminds one of certain erratic poets of ultramodern idiosyncrasies, *Tolerance* is an interesting and entertaining, even instructive book.

F. H. H.

GENERAL HISTORY OF THE WORLD. By Victor Duruy, Edwin A. Grosvenor, Mabell S. C. Smith and J. Walker M. Spadden. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1925, 932 pp. \$4.00.

Earlier editions of this work have long been familiar. Duruy's original text ended with 1848; Professor Grosvenor added the history of the second half of the last century. Now the work is further amplified by the last two authors by the inclusion of world events during the first quarter of the present century. Altogether there have thus been added about 400 pages to the original French text, together with numerous maps. Such a work inevitably has the defects involved in its merits. Recent events loom unduly large, while Egypt is covered in eight pages and Assyria in four. And yet it is probably the best history of the world in one convenient-sized volume. This new issue seventy-five years after the original was written is certainly a tribute to the historical sense of its first author.

F. H. H.

THE MEDIAEVAL MIND. A History of the Development of Thought and Emotion in the Middle Ages. By Henry Osborn Taylor. London and New York: Macmillan and Company, 4th ed., 1925, 2 vols., 603 and 620 pp. \$8.00.

While this edition of a justly famed work contains few additions or alterations from the third edition, the very fact that a fourth edition is necessary is not only a tribute to the very unusual merit of the work but also a testimonial of the appreciation in England and America of the best type of historical scholarship. It is a history of the development of the

Mediaeval mind from the standpoints both of intellectual postulates and emotional currents. It combines with rare scholarship and notable grace of expression the well-balanced but sympathetically human judgments of the historian imbued with modernism.

F. H. H.

CATHERINE THE GREAT. Katharine Anthony. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1925, 332 pp. \$4.00.

The volume is not a historical study either of the period or of the policies of Catherine; it is a personal record of her intimate life, of her intrigues, of her ambitions, and especially of her love affairs.

J. S. S.

THE WOMEN OF THE CAESARS. By Guglielmo Ferrero. New York: Putnams, 1925, 337 pp. \$4.00.

This is a delightful account by a distinguished historian of some of the more obscure influences of Roman times. Women who receive particular attention are Livia and Julia, Antonia, Julia the younger, Agrippina and Messaline.

LORINE PRUETTE.

THE INVENTION OF PRINTING IN CHINA AND ITS SPREAD WESTWARD. By Thomas F. Carter. New York: The Columbia University Press, 1925, pp. xvii and 282. \$7.50.

Professor Carter has written the first detailed study of early printing in China, the evolution of printing, and its spread westward through North Africa to Western Europe. It is as fine an example of the study of the diffusion of a culture trait as has appeared in the English language.

F. H. H.

GREEK SOCIAL LIFE. By F. A. Wright. **GREEK ETHICAL THOUGHT.** By Hilda D. Oakley. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1925, pp. 246 and 226. \$2.00 each.

These works, issued under the editorship of Ernest Barker, Principal of King's

College, are similar in that both are translations of pertinent passages from the works of Greek philosophers, dramatists, historians, orators and poets arranged in chronological order. Together they form an excellent anthology of material of sociological interest from the Homeric Age to the age of Marcus Aurelius.

F. H. H.

HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY. By Alfred Weber. Translated by Frank Thilly. **PHILOSOPHY SINCE 1860.** By Ralph B. Perry. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925, xiii, 604 pp. \$2.50.

All students of philosophy during the last thirty years will welcome this new revised edition of a very famous history. In his addition of some 130 pages Professor Perry has covered the development of European and American philosophy since 1860.

F. H. H.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY. Vol. XIX, 1925, 261 pp. \$2.00.

A collection of papers and discussions presented at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society in 1924, dealing with the general subject of "The Trend of Our Civilization." F. H. H.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1925, vii, 733 pp. \$3.00.

This report of the Fifty-Second Annual Session is replete with intimate studies of numerous aspects of the social life in the modern urban community. Every division contains articles of both general and special interest to the sociologist. Mixed in with various articles of no particular value or significance are others of a general and even permanent value.

F. H. H.

HOW TO STAY MARRIED. By George Gibbs. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1925, 242 pp. \$1.50.

MODERN MARRIAGE. A Handbook. By Paul Popenoe. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1925, 259 pp. \$2.50.

These books represent the concern of their authors over the present obvious disruption of the monogamous family. They supplement each other, for while one counsels good will the other counsels a sound biological basis. Popenoe strikes more deeply than Gibbs in wanting young people educated for marriage, guided in the choice of mates and shown how to conserve mutual affection in marriage by an informed art of love. While far less explicit on this last theme than "Sex and Life" by Dr. Robie, not long since reviewed in these columns, he has nevertheless stated fundamentals.

F. H. H.

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A CROOK. By R. L. Dearden. New York: The Dial Press, 1925, 254 pp. \$1.00.

An absorbingly interesting tale of the actual exploits of a gentleman crook with interesting sidelights on the underworld and the police methods in two continents, on British justice, and on the psychology of the youthful criminal of Leopold type, as well as the patient resignation of the habitual prison inmate.

F. H. H.

SOCIAL PROGRESS. A Handbook of the Liberal Movement. Edited by William Floyd. New York: The Arbitrator, 1925, 342 pp. \$2.50.

This work is a miscellaneous compilation of materials relating to the conflict of classes, the operations of government, and movements for reform. It treats a great variety of topics somewhat after the manner for a brief encyclopaedia. The material is mainly historical though many

terms are defined. It is of slight value to the serious student, however useful to the soap-box orator.

F. H. H.

THE INTERNATIONAL YEAR BOOK OF CHILD CARE AND PROTECTION. Compiled by Edward Fuller. New York: Longmans, Green & Company, 1925, 563 pp. \$2.50.

This is an encyclopaedia of information compiled from official sources. It is adequately described in its subtitle: "Being a record of state and voluntary effort for the welfare of the child, including information on marriage, divorce and illegitimacy, education, the care of the destitute child, treatment of juvenile delinquents, and the conditions of juvenile employment throughout the world." It more than fulfills expectations.

F. H. H.

OUTLINES OF THE SOCIOLOGY OF HUMAN BEHAVIOR. By Daniel H. Kulp II. New York: Teachers College, 1925, x, 257 pp. \$2.50.

This is the most comprehensive outline of sociological material in syllabus form which has yet been published. It not only covers a number of topics which constitute independent courses in many institutions, such as, Social Origins, Human Nature, Social Interaction, Social Problems, and the History and Nature of Sociology, but it also gives the applications of the material to education, nursing, and social work.

F. H. H.

HYPATIA OR WOMAN AND KNOWLEDGE. By Mrs. Bertrand Russell. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1925, 81 pp. \$1.00.

LYSISTRATA OR WOMAN'S FUTURE AND FUTURE WOMAN. By Anthony M. Ludovici. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1925, pp. viii, 110. \$1.00.

The debate between Mr. Ludovici and Mrs. Russell has added to the gaiety of nations. While Mr. Ludovici demands

less Puritanism, more "he men," legalized concubinage and the destruction at birth of the abnormal and defective, Mrs. Russell thinks there is too much Puritanism and sounds the call for greater freedom in love for women combined with birth control. She agrees that there is a sex war—war to the knife—but far from thinking the women have all but won the last battle she thinks the fight has just begun. She rejects the notion of a feminine paradise without men; also Ludovici's notion of male degeneration because he wears eyeglasses, takes medicine and has a bad breath. She is certain that famous female paramours of some centuries ago would excite repugnance rather than romance in the modern male. Obviously such books solve nothing. They do not throw much light on fundamental questions of our domestic institutions, but they help to sharpen one's wits and give some insight into a free but honest thinking world.

F. H. H.

OUTLINES OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS. By Henry C. Taylor. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1925, xii, 610 pp. \$3.00.

A comprehensive manual, with special emphasis on American conditions.

INTRODUCTION TO RURAL ECONOMICS. By Paul L. Vogt, New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1925, pp. 377.

This book is a text for use in the high schools where agriculture is taught. It is especially adapted for class exercises by the placing of questions at the end of each chapter. The general principles of economics are discussed and the illustrations and applications are drawn from farm life. It is so designed in handling general principles that particulars can be applied for any section.

BRUCE L. MELVIN.

N. Y. State College of Agriculture.

FOOD BUYING AND OUR MARKETS. By Day Monroe and Lenore Monroe Stratton. Boston: M. Barrows and Company, 1925, viii, 321 pp. \$3.00.

A clear, concrete and informing manual.

LABOR RELATIONS IN INDUSTRY. By Dwight L. Hoopingarner. New York: A. W. Shaw, 1925, xvi, 553. \$4.00.

An elaborate, comprehensive general treatise, dealing with every aspect of the question from a somewhat conservative point of view.

THE PROBLEM OF BUSINESS FORECASTING. Edited by Persons, Foster, and Hettinger. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1925, vii, 317 pp. \$4.00.

This volume was made up by publishing the papers read on this subject at the 1923 annual meeting of the American Statistical Association.

THE BUSINESS OF THE HOUSEHOLD. By C. W. Taber. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1922, pp. xii and 438.

A complete textbook on home economics for advanced high school and college students. The field is systematically treated under four headings: (1) Fundamental Principles of Household Finance; (2) Factors in the Family Budget—Necessities; (3) Factors in the Family Budget—Higher Life; (4) Legal and Business Status of the Family.

ART IN HOME ECONOMICS: A BIBLIOGRAPHY. By Marion E. Clark and Others. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1925, pp. x and 66. \$1.00.

Covers the subjects of costume design, history of costume, interior decoration, history of furniture, architecture, art principles, and art appreciation. Was prepared by a special committee of The American Homes Economics Association.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISES. By Edward D. Jones. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1925, 618 pp.

This is a thoroughly revised edition of a work which since 1916 has been one of the standard manuals on the subject. Covers such a range of subjects as factory equipment, organization of industry, and labor problems.

EFFICIENT HOUSEKEEPING OR HOUSEHOLD ENGINEERING. SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT IN THE HOME. By Mrs. Christine Frederick. Chicago: American School of Home Economics, 6th edition revised 1925, 527 pp. \$2.50.

This is a new edition of a justly famous book first published in 1915. It is based on a correspondence course covering every phase of household management. An extremely useful book in many households.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF LAW. By R. D. Foulke. Philadelphia: John C. Winston Company, 1925, ix, 102 pp. \$1.00.

A brief manual chiefly confined to definitions.

THE STORY OF TRAPOT DOME. By M. E. Ravage. New York: Republic Publishing Company, 1925, 197 pp. \$1.00.

An unusually reliable and realistic account of the chief national disgrace since the days of Grant's administration, which helped to elect Coolidge and secure the prosecution of Senator Wheeler.

H. E. B.

THE PLURALIST PHILOSOPHIES OF ENGLAND AND AMERICA. By Jean Wahl. Translated by Fred Rothwell. London: The Open Court Company, 1925, xvi, 324 pp. \$3.00.

The final chapter is the author's only contribution to the subject. It is a slight critical estimate of the nature of the pluralistic hypothesis.

H. G. T.

AMERICAN GOVERNMENT. WITH A CONSIDERATION OF THE PROBLEMS OF DEMOCRACY. By Frank Abbott Magruder. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1926, pp. xii, 486, 50.

The 1926 edition of Magruder's "American Government" contains the same general features as its predecessors, and maintains the same standards of accuracy and readability. The references are especially suggestive, the statistical information accurate and pertinent, and the illustrations of government at work more than ordinarily interesting. It well deserves its place as one of the most popular school texts on American government.

P. B.

THE PRINCE. By Niccolo Machiavelli. New York: Brentano's n.d., xi, 163 pp. \$1.50.

This is a very welcome reprint of a work of permanent value. There is probably no book in the history of human thought, equally small in size, that has made anything like as great an impression upon both theory and practice in social life.

F. H. H.

THE STATISTICAL WORK OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT. By Laurence F. Schmeckebier. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1925, xiv, 574 pp. \$5.00.

The statistical work carried on by different departments of the United States government has become so voluminous and so highly diversified that a guide thereto became almost a necessity. Dr. Schmeckebier has provided such a guide. It tells what statistics are available and where they may be found, classified in thirty-six distinct chapters each of which contains an analytical treatment of an important field of investigation. There is in addition an extensive Index. It goes without saying that every one working

with government materials will hereafter find this book not only highly useful but almost a necessity.

F. H. H.

CIVICS. PRELIMINARIES OF CITIZENSHIP: CIVIC INSTITUTIONS AND MACHINERY: CIVIC PARTIES AND PROBLEMS. By Radhakamal Mukerjee. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1926, vii, 109 pp. \$1.80.

The author of this work is Professor of Economics and Sociology at Lucknow University and has already made himself well known in this country through his *Principles of Comparative Economics*, *The Ground of Economics*, and other works. His *Regional Sociology* will soon be reviewed in these pages. His *Civics* is an elementary book designed primarily for use in India.

F. H. H.

LE CHRISTIANISME ET LA RÉVOLUTION FRANÇAISE. By A. Aulard. Paris: F. Rieder, 1925, 157 pp. 6.50 francs.

An interesting little summary of the religious aspects of the French Revolution by the dean of the French students of the Revolutionary era.

NOW AND FOREVER. By Samuel Roth. New York: Robert M. McBride and Company, 1925, 157 pp. \$1.75.

A conversation between Israel Zangwill and Samuel Roth concerning contemporary Jewish interests, particularly the issue of Zionism and the reconstruction of Palestine.

THE LAST MESSAGE OF WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1925, 80 pp. \$1.00.

The final counter-blast of the Great Commoner against evolution and modern scientific and critical thought.

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THE MAN NOBODY KNOWS. By Bruce Barton. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1925, 220 pp. \$2.50.

A breezy and suggestive effort to interpret Jesus in concrete fashion and in terms of modern society.

THE BIBLE AND COMMON SENSE. By Basil King. New York: Harper and Bros., 1925, 160 pp. \$1.50.

The book contains four chapters, dealing with the purpose of the Bible, its inspiration, its relation to dogma, and its standing as "the word of God."

THE AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK. Vol. XXVII. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1925, vii, 612. \$2.00.

The current issue of a standard handbook.

THE INDIANA SURVEY OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION. Vol. II. By Walter S. Ahearn and others. New York: George H. Doran Co., 1924, 532 pp. \$5.00.

Volume I of the Indiana Survey of Religious Education presented the conclusions at which the directors of the survey arrived, Volume II gives specimens of the devices used in making the survey.

J. S. BIXLER.

THE ORIGINS OF PROHIBITION. By John A. Krout. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1925, 389 pp. \$3.50.

One is at first disappointed to discover that this work tells the story of the prohibition movement, or rather the temperance movement, in America only down to the middle of the century or to the enactment of prohibition in Maine in 1851. But as he reads he is agreeably surprised to find an important record interestingly told and at the same time given the authority of an extensive study of original sources.

F. H. H.

WORLD MISSIONARY ATLAS. Edited by Harlan P. Beach, D.D., F.R.G.S., and Charles H. Fahs, B.A., B.D. New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1925, 251 pp.

Atlases are often cheap compilations poorly printed. This one is almost in a class by itself as the embodiment at once of an immense amount of careful research, of painstaking and logical arrangement and of the finest work of the book-making art.

F. H. H.

SCIENCE AS REVELATION. By John M. Watson. New York: Macmillan, 1925, 303 pp. \$1.25.

This book is made up of brief sketches of what the author considers the positive conclusions of several sciences and an attempt to expand those conclusions into a philosophy. Readers who are satisfied to stop thinking will carry away a lyric atmosphere in praise of man's knowledge and will not be worried by his lack of knowledge.

H. G. T.

THE ELEMENTS OF ETHICS. By Charles C. Mitner. New York: Macmillan Company, 1925, 351 pp. \$3.00.

This book is intended to be an elementary text in Catholic schools, and for this purpose it will, no doubt, be very satisfactory. It is simply written and the chapters are followed by references and questions for discussion. The nature of the contents will be clearly recognized from the following quotation: "Ethics assumes as proved; (a) in Theodicy, God's existence and absolute dominion over all his creatures; (b) in Psychology, man's immortality and freedom of will; (c) in Epistemology and Logic, the possibility of attaining certitude by the use of his cognitive faculties." Further discussion would be useless.

RAYMOND BELLAMY.

Florida State College for Women.

THOMAS PAINE. By F. J. Gould. Boston: Small, Maynard and Company, 1925, 192 pp. \$1.75.

This is a brief but vivid account of the story of the son of a manufacturer of ladies' stays, who became one of the most distinguished lights of the Revolutionary period. Though born in England, he played an immense rôle in America and in France. While he died more or less unhonored, his fame has since risen and bids fair to rise still further. He was one of the greatest apostles of the dignity of the common man that the world has known. While popularly considered an Atheist, he was, in fact, a Deist, with views to which the theological seminaries appeared to be fast approaching.

F. H. H.

THE LIFE OF JOHN CALDWELL CALHOUN. By William M. Meigs. New York: G. E. Stechert and Company, 1925, 2 vols., 456, 478 pp. \$10.00.

A reissue of the standard biography of the great Southern expositor of the states-rights theory.

WAS CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS A JEW? By Walter F. McEntire. Boston: The Stratford Company, 1925, iv, 179 pp. \$1.00.

A contribution to curious research, concluding that there is no good evidence to support the theory that Columbus was of Jewish descent.

THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF WALTER H. PAGE. Garden City: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1925, vol. III, 440 pp. \$5.00.

A continuation of this well known collection, of special importance for the problem of America's entry into the World War.

THE LIFE OF ANDREW JACKSON. By John Spencer Bassett. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1925, xix, 766 pp. \$4.00.

A new edition of the most satisfactory and adequate biography of Jackson.

THE LIFE OF SAMUEL JOHNSON, LL.D. By James Boswell, Esq., Edited with Notes by Arnold Glover with an Introduction by Austin Dobson. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1925, 3 vols., 458, 464 and 466 pp. \$10.00.

Boswell's *Johnson* long since took its place as the greatest biography in the English language. This edition is a beautiful reprint of an edition of 1901 with numerous illustrations.

F. H. H.

BRIGHAM YOUNG. By M. R. Werner, New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1925, 478 pp. \$5.00.

It is no exaggeration to say that this is one of the most brilliant and profoundly interesting American biographies of the last twenty-five years; and yet it falls short of what the sociologist might wish.

F. H. H.

THE LIFE OF WESLEY AND THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF METHODISM. By Robert Southey. New York: Oxford University Press, 1925, 2 vols., 430 and 428 pp.

These volumes in the Oxford Edition of Standard Authors contain reprints of a justly famous biography together with "Notes" by Samuel Taylor Coleridge and "Remarks on the Life and Character of John Wesley" by Alexander Knox.

F. H. H.

AUGUSTE COMTE. By Ernest Seillière. Paris: Librairie Félix Alcan, 1924, 398 pp. 12 francs.

Mr. Ernest Seillière, a member of the Institut, has during the last 25 years been one of the most successful French essayists and publicists. The present study of Comte is written with all of Seillière's well-known literary finish, artistic feeling, and creative imagination. The first book deals with outstanding experiences in Comte's life which shaped his viewpoint and colored his tempera-

ment. The second book contains probably the best statement of Comtean mysticism and the best criticism of his philosophy of history, together with their historical basis to be found in print.

F. H. H.

THE SHAMAN'S REVENGE. By Violet Irwin. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1925, vii, 286 pp. \$2.00.

A thrilling story based upon the Arctic diaries of Stefansson.

PERSEUS OR OF DRAGONS. By H. F. Scott Stokes. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1925, 74 pp. \$1.00.

A general history of dragon lore in the "To-day and To-morrow Series."

LABORATORY EXERCISES IN GENERAL CHEMISTRY. By William Foster and H. W. Heath. New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, 1925, vi, 186 pp. \$1.25.

A good modern manual.

MEN, WOMEN AND COLLEGES. By Le Baron R. Briggs. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1925, 180 pp. \$1.50.

A former professor and dean of Harvard College and president of Radcliffe may be expected to say some very wise and interesting things on education. In this little volume of addresses he opens with the definition of a liberal as one who holds to a "belief in the other man's right to his own belief," passes to a consideration of the aims of college and university and the equipment of the teacher and ends with an address to the Yale freshmen. This last is perhaps the best. All are entertainingly written, so much so that one almost loses sight of the argument; and all have a quiet inspirational quality that produces the best results of the minister by the more pleasing arts of the good teacher.

F. H. H.

CHOICE RHYTHMS FOR YOUTHFUL DANCERS. By Caroline Crawford with music by Elizabeth Fogg. New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1925, 103 pp. \$3.00.

A collection of folk melodies adapted from original sources and harmonized for educational use.

READINGS IN THE STORY OF HUMAN PROGRESS. Edited by Leon C. Marshall. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1926, xi, 493 pp. \$2.50.

These *Readings* are designed to accompany *The Story of Human Progress* which was reviewed in an early number of *Social Forces*. The *Readings* parallel, part by part and chapter by chapter, the text. They are also beautifully printed and copiously illustrated. With the original text they probably constitute by all odds the most valuable secondary school introduction to the social sciences now available.

F. H. H.

THE AMERICAN YEAR BOOK. Edited by Albert Bushnell Hart and William M. Schuyler. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1925, xxv, 1158 pp. \$7.50.

The revival of this work will be welcomed by all students of the social sciences. In its present form it is a distinctly coöperative product, the representatives of many societies having contributed to its contents. The total number of contributors is 256, and the present volume is about one-third larger than the predecessors of the former series. There have been some additions in the way of new sections, and numerous bibliographies have been added. It is thus a highly useful if not indispensable reference work. Its very scope, however, has prevented the treatment from being much more than fragmentary. Thus, philosophy, psychology, anthropology and sociology together are covered in twenty-two pages. It is a work, however, which is full of valuable data authoritatively presented.

F. H. H.

THE MIRROR OF VENUS. Translated by F. A. Wright.
New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, n.d.
vii, 300 pp. \$3.00.

A late addition to the valuable *Broadway Translations* now being published by Dutton and Company. The present volume includes a very extensive selection

of poems from Ovid's *Amores*, the *An Amatoria*, *Remedia Amoris* and other Latin tributes to the Goddess of Love. Many of them are not understandable unless one be familiar with Latin tradition; others are as modern as if written by a free lance poet of to-day. F. H. H.

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STIMULATING BOOKS FOR THE SOCIAL SCIENTIST

The Social Theory of Georg Simmel

By

NICHOLAS J. SPYKMAN

This is the first exposition in English of the ideas of the great modern methodologist, Georg Simmel, and is one of the most significant books which has been contributed to social science in America. Mr. Spykman believes that the lack of a common agreement as to methods is causing confusion and preventing progress in the social sciences, and he is introducing the work of Georg Simmel as the best possible starting point for a renewed discussion of the problems of method. Simmel is the greatest influence of modern times in methodology. If a general agreement can be reached regarding his propositions this book will be the point of departure for the creation of an entirely new method of procedure in the social sciences.

What Simmel has done, what his ideas of formal sociology represent, are made clear for the first time by Mr. Spykman. This book may be used as a text in advanced senior courses in problems of method, and as a reference for courses on social methodology, social philosophy, and theoretical sociology. We believe that it will have so great an influence upon the future trend of social science in America, that no one interested in any aspect of the social sciences can afford not to read it.

\$3.00, *postpaid \$3.10*

An Introduction to the Science of Sociology. (Revised Edition.) *By ROBERT E. PARK and ERNEST W. BURGESS.* 1,000 pages, \$4.50, *postpaid \$4.70.*

Park and Burgess' widely-used text in its recently revised edition offers a collection of readings selected to define and illustrate the concepts and principles of sociology. An excellent text for an introductory course in sociology, it combines in a single volume the textbook and the necessary reading materials.

Immigration: Select Documents and Case Records. *By EDITH ABBOTT.* \$4.50, *postpaid \$4.70.*

"Stranded en route" is the perilous situation from which bewildered aliens have often to be rescued. In this comprehensive selection of case records is presented the immigrant's complete story. Miss Abbott's selection of documents relating to the immigrant's admission, exclusion, or expulsion and attendant difficulties is as interesting a group of sources as has ever been published.

Origins of Sociology. *By ALBION W. SMALL.* \$3.00, *postpaid \$3.15.*

Like Mr. Spykman, Dr. Small in this earlier book makes an appeal for more attention to the historical and methodological aspects of social science. His analysis has been worked out in accordance with the belief that the historical approach affords the best preparation for intelligent and creative work in sociology.

The Laws of Social Psychology. *By FLO-
RIAN ZNANIECKI.* \$3.00, *postpaid \$3.15.*

Mr. Znaniecki is Professor of Sociology in the University of Poznan. He has applied the principles of the new historical relativism to the realm of human action, a field from which the traditional methodology has all but retired in defeat.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
5773 Ellis Avenue

Chicago, Illinois

THE SEARCH AFTER VALUES

THREE YEARS OF COOPERATIVE EFFORT

WITH the September issue begins the fourth volume of *SOCIAL FORCES*. New plans and prospects give a reasonable basis to expect that future volumes may mark substantial growth in its circulation and higher standards in its form and contributions. A review of the first three volumes, while offering some grounds for satisfaction and enthusiasm, indicates also larger opportunities ahead and many obligations yet to be fulfilled. An analysis of previous volumes will give something of the story of what *SOCIAL FORCES* has tried to do, at the same time that it will point clearly to the tasks ahead.

Included in the first three volumes of *SOCIAL FORCES* are no less than 576 contributions by no less than 331 separate authors, exclusive of book reviews, of which 466 have been presented. Of the leading articles and contributions, although there has been much of method and theoretical approach, the great majority have dealt with social problems, social direction and themes tending towards general teleology, distributed in general subject matter as indicated below. The distribution by colleges, universities and by states proves most interesting. The distribution of the contributions shows that at least 155, or approximately one-fourth, have been contributed by social workers, public officials, and citizens generally outside of college and

university ranks. Among the colleges and universities from which more than three contributions exclusive of book reviews have come are the following, in order:

University of North Carolina.....	61
Columbia University.....	19
University of Minnesota.....	13
University of Wisconsin.....	12
University of Chicago.....	11
Smith.....	9
Dartmouth.....	5
Wellesley.....	5
Northwestern.....	4
North Carolina State College.....	4
University of Kansas.....	4
Cornell.....	3
Yale.....	3

And the following other institutions have contributed three each: University of Alabama, Goucher College, Tuskegee Institute, University of California, Brookwood Labor College, University of Missouri, Texas A. and M., University of Washington.

The following institutions have made two contributions each: University of Southern California, Mississippi College, Western Reserve, Brown University, Atlanta University, University of North Dakota, Elon College, University of Michigan, Baylor College, North Carolina College for Women, Wake Forest, Harvard University, Berea College, Tulane University, University of Illinois, New College for Social Research,

Bryn Mawr College, Ohio State University, New York School of Social Work, Wesleyan College, University of Virginia.

Other institutions which have made a single contribution include: Fisk University, Swarthmore College, Haverford College, Mercer University, Amherst College, University of West Virginia, Butler College, Barnard College, Princeton University, University of Omaha, Vanderbilt University, University of Georgia, New York University, Ohio Wesleyan, Washington University, Colorado State Teachers College, Johns Hopkins University.

The distribution of contributions by social workers, publicists and interested citizens is equally gratifying, and present indications are that this list will increase both in numbers and importance. A similar distribution of contributions by states shows the following classification of states furnishing more than three articles, exclusive of North Carolina, which provided 102 contributions, many of which were of minor nature:

New York.....	63
Massachusetts.....	34
Illinois.....	18
Georgia.....	17
Wisconsin.....	15
Pennsylvania.....	14
Minnesota.....	13
Washington, D. C.....	11
Ohio.....	7
Texas.....	7
Alabama.....	7
Missouri.....	6
Kansas.....	6
California.....	6
Virginia.....	5
Washington.....	5
Tennessee.....	5
South Carolina.....	4
Maryland.....	4
Michigan.....	4
Florida.....	4
New Jersey.....	4

The following states have contributed

from one to three articles each: Arkansas, Mississippi, Iowa, Rhode Island, North Dakota, Delaware, Colorado, Louisiana, Indiana, Connecticut, West Virginia, Nebraska, Oregon.

An equally interesting distribution of contributions according to the general subject matter, classified more or less arbitrarily according to the general scheme somewhat in use by *SOCIAL FORCES*, shows the following:

The family, home and genetic relationships.	42
Education, school and social direction.....	177
Religion, church and conflict of ideals.....	37
Industry, work, economic and social-industrial relationships.....	30
Government, politics, citizenship.....	95
Community, the association process, territorial groups.....	113
Personality, leadership, creative effort.....	42
Race, cultural groups, social differentiation.	31
Cycles, crises, incidence, casual groups, war, mass influence.....	9

LOOKING TO THE FUTURE

One of the aspects of *SOCIAL FORCES* which has given its editors most pleasure has been its effort to contribute to a distinctive field, combining the more theoretical scientific studies with studies of applied efforts and of social contacts. It not only does not compete with other journals but aims to make more valuable their contributions. The elimination of the word "journal," as used in the earlier issues, thus facilitates its popular usage and avoids any confusion with other sociological periodicals which have come to be known as "the journal." The appearance of *SOCIAL FORCES* in September, December, March, June is calculated to make a better distribution throughout the year of the sociological literature appearing in America. The change in form is in line with the effort of *SOCIAL FORCES* to present a scientific medium of social study and interpretation

which, while hoping to be rigorously scientific, may yet attempt to bridge the distance between scholar and layman, than which there is no more important task now awaiting the social scientist.

Most important of the new announcements, however, is that welcoming for our growing constituency The Williams & Wilkins Company of Baltimore as business managers and publishers. Their enthusiasm and standards will guarantee *SOCIAL FORCES* not only better detailed service in delivery, in reprints, but also a higher standard of work and a much larger circulation. There is added, too, that most important factor of happy co-operation between the University of North Carolina Press, *SOCIAL FORCES*, and these publishers of scientific journals. In anticipating the good will of *SOCIAL FORCES'* constituency the editors are expressing only a part of their own pleasure.

Among the contributors to the future, including manuscripts in hand and those

which have been requested and promised, will be found the best array yet presented. There will, of course, appear new contributions by many of the distinguished authors who have contributed from the first, such as Professor Giddings and the others. Of special interest will be a new approach to the social sciences through the study of master teachers and scholars; comprehensive outlines of research into the major problems facing American social scientists; a varied and effective discussion and illustration of the scientific method in social science; the presentation of scores of results from laboratories in the study of population and race, social behavior, social pattern, industry, social conflict, and other subjects. The Library and Workshop will continue to provide distinctive book reviews as interesting, important and helpful as the leading articles. Special features and new contributors will be announced in subsequent issues.

CONTRIBUTORS TO SEPTEMBER SOCIAL FORCES

IN THIS series of papers, of which this is the second, *William Allen White* is presenting what he calls a fairly simple thesis that our country has passed through three major political cycles, and that these larger cycles are parts of a still greater cycle of development known rather loosely as Christian civilization. In this connection Mr. White says, "No historical thesis can be definitely proven. Such theses are interesting only as experiments in historical methods. Any theory which attempts to set forth definitely and finally an exact path of historical growth is subject to criticism and successful attack because the truth is too large for any theory; too elaborate to fit any thesis." *Howard*

B. Woolston from the University of Washington writes another one of his provocative treatises on population. This will not be the last of his thesis, judging from differences of opinion and scientific studies now being made in the field. *Jerome Davis* of Yale will soon publish two or three new volumes on social problems and modern social movements. *Pitirim Sorokin* of the University of Minnesota will complete this study of monarchs and rulers in an early issue of *SOCIAL FORCES*. *L. L. Bernard* presents the last of his papers on the concept of progress, while *Arthur Calboun* discusses social correlation as the second installment of his theory of social development. *Melville J. Herskovits* with *Malcolm M. Willey*

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will shortly present an interesting volume on social pattern. *Frederick G. Detweiler* writes from Denison University. *T. J. Wooster, Jr.* is supervising a comprehensive study of Negro housing and community planning in connection with the Southern Inter-Racial Commission. *Leslie White* writes from the University of Chicago, *Frank W. Hoffer* from the University of North Carolina, *Ralph R. Holben* from Dartmouth College. *R. R. Reeder*, as director of the Marsh Foundation School and other work, is making a distinctive contribution to child welfare. *E. S. Martin* represents the Boy Scouts, *Helen Witmer* made her study at the University of Wisconsin, and *N. B. Bond* is professor at Mississippi Woman's College. *LeRoy Bowman*, Columbia University, is making varied contributions to discussion and work in community organization. *Weaver Pangburn* is from the Playground and Recreation Association of America. *W. A. Anderson* is professor at North Carolina State College. President *William Louis Poteat* in his series on "Can A Man Be A Christian?" has been received with both high commen-

dation and critical denunciation. *Read Bain* is professor at the University of Washington, *E. E. Muntz* writes from Princeton, *Wm. Christie MacLeod* from the University of Pennsylvania, *Helen B. Pendleton* from the Atlanta School of Social Work, *Fred E. Haynes* from the University of Iowa. From the field of active social work come *Marshall E. Beuick*, of New York, *E. T. Hartman* from the department of housing and planning, Commonwealth of Massachusetts, *J. B. Gwin* from the American Red Cross. *Mary O. Couper* made her studies from the University of North Carolina and will present a second and third article on cotton-cloth as a type study in later issues. *Walter J. Matherly* is professor in the School of Commerce, University of North Carolina. *L. A. Williams*, formerly from the University of North Carolina, is professor in the University of California. The *Editorial* in this issue is an appeal for the professor and social worker to bridge distances between constituency and truth. *Authors of Book Reviews* will be found identified in the Library and Workshop.

CONTINUING its policy of discussing situations, problems, and forces with a view to descriptive and critical analysis and constructive programs, the editorial note in the next issue of *SOCIAL FORCES* will discuss "The Discovery of the People," having in mind, of course, the general field of social science—and the people. Other editorial notes in the first three volumes have included: *The Social Forces Program*; *Effective Democracy*; *Democracy, The Institutions, and the Ku Klux Klan*; *Social Work in Relation to Democracy and Progress*; *The Transfer of Leadership*; *Modern Equivalents for Early Rural Pioneering*; *Dependable Theory and Social Change*; *Critical Attitudes, North and South*; *Woodrow Wilson—A Memorial Note*; *A More Articulate South*; *G. Stanley Hall—Pioneer in Scientific Social Exploration*; *University Training and Research in Social Science*; *A Southern Promise*; *Masters of Work*.

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(Phallic Worship)

BY O. A. WALL, M.D., PH.G., PH.M.

Table of Contents

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THE SEARCH AFTER VALUES

THREE AMERICAN PORTRAITS

GERALD W. JOHNSON

WHEN Gye, of London, issued his announcement covering work in cancer research and the *Lancet* made editorial comment upon it that was, to say the least, fully as optimistic as the report justified, medical men in this country were filled with the gloomiest forebodings. They remembered the sequelae of Koch's tuberculin, of the forgotten genius who was to cure tuberculosis with turtle serum, and of a dozen other cases in which announcements had been made prematurely or with an assurance not justified by the facts. In each of these cases a fever of enthusiasm ran through the country and a woeful procession of the afflicted started in the direction of the healer. To the tragedy of disease was added the tragedy of disappointed hopes, not infrequently complicated with financial catastrophe. Disease was not reduced, but the prestige of medicine suffered some diminishment.

The first cables from London lent themselves to a construction that might easily have started another wave of false hopes, this time among victims of cancer and their friends. But the tragic effect feared by doctors did not materialize in this case. There was no such outburst of eager anticipation as followed the announcement either of tuberculin or of turtle serum and consequently no such lamentable disappointment when it was

ascertained that Dr. Gye had carried the light of knowledge only a little further into the immense darkness of the mystery.

Most of the credit for this unusual restraint of its natural optimism on the part of the public unquestionably belongs to certain men of great reputation in the medical world. On the basis of meagre cable reports, these men issued warnings against undue credulity, and these warnings were repeated and emphasized by the American press. The newspapers, indeed, displayed a tendency in many instances to play up the warnings more conspicuously than they had played up the announcement itself. If the opinion of many physicians is to be relied upon, this was a radical departure from the usual course of the press, which heretofore has shown itself incurably optimistic. Eminent doctors always issue warnings against too ready acceptance of reports of medical discoveries, but newspapers do not always play the warnings conspicuously. There is in this circumstance more than a hint that some force other than the usual medical pressure was brought to bear upon the public journals at the time of the Gye announcement.

It is not difficult to believe that this extra force was exerted by the enterprising individual known to his friends as Red Lewis, and to the world at large as the author of several distinctive novels,

the latest of which is *Arrowsmith*. When the Gye announcement was made, there was not in the United States an editor in charge of an important newspaper who had not recently read *Arrowsmith*. That is to say, there was not an editor who had not recently been presented with a description, done with all the resources of an exceedingly able novelist, of the difficulty of arriving at scientific truth. Then came an announcement that seemed to indicate that a scientist at London had unravelled one of the most baffling mysteries with which medicine has ever struggled. It was a tempting excuse for the press to start the chorus of hosannahs. But it did nothing of the kind. On the contrary, it received the news skeptically and handled it cautiously.

In view of the fact that the book had appeared only a few months previously, and was at that moment the most important subject of discussion in literary circles, is it unreasonable to believe that old Max Gottlieb, the scientist pictured in *Arrowsmith*, rose in the mind's eye of every editor, a Banquo sternly warning him of his crimes in the past and ruining his appetite for the banquet of sensationalism spread before him?

But the acceptance of any such hypothesis necessarily raises Sinclair Lewis another notch in the scale of social forces. The man had already wrought marvelously upon the fabric of American life. As an iconoclast he long since distanced every rival since Charles Dickens. That he carries the besom of destruction in his right hand is easily demonstrable by reference to what he has done to the vernacular. Two formerly neutral, colorless terms he has erected, in the American language, into defamation of the bitterest. Everywhere on this continent, north of the Rio Grande, "Main Street" is now only secondarily the name of a

thoroughfare. Primarily, it denotes a mental and spiritual slough, the intellectual abomination of desolation. Over the same broad expanse "Babbitt" is no longer merely a patronymic, or the name of a harmless, necessary anti-friction metal, but a term of opprobrium, the eponym of tinplate intellects and clearance-sale souls.

Dickens had this same terrific gift of making a name stand up and bear into the language a load of significance that could theretofore be carried only by the combined effort of innumerable words. Pecksniff, Uriah Heep, Mr. Bumble, Mr. Tulkinghorn—apply to a man any of these and you have given him a description that otherwise would require pages. Human beings are never types, and allegory is rarely art. But while this sort of thing may be bad art, it is magnificent propaganda. It accomplishes the ultimate achievement of the satirist—it forces another metamorphosis upon Proteus. Dickens did not abolish Pecksnifery, but he did to a large extent compel it to abandon the particular methods employed by Mr. Pecksniff. He made them too easily recognizable longer to serve their purpose. Babbittry will continue when Sinclair Lewis has been dead long enough for English classes to write him down as contemporaneous with Dickens, but already the Babbitts are consciously avoiding the wilder absurdities of the original Mr. Babbitt. Nor will any health officer in America be guilty long of adopting any method readily traceable to the genius of Dr. Almus Pickerbaugh, of *Arrowsmith*.

As to whether or not this is progress only the distant future may decide, but at any rate it is change, and the men who foretell or who compel changes in the life of the world indubitably are social forces. Sinclair Lewis may be wrong in

innumerable ways, but he is to be reckoned with by everyone who makes an attempt to understand the American scene.

Much of the desolation in the mental and spiritual life of the nation to which Lewis is ruthlessly drawing attention is explained by American apologists as due to lack of background. The theory is open to numerous objections, but of course the fact remains that, whatever may be said of the people, the nation itself is too young as yet to have accumulated a great store of written records. For that very reason any unusually intelligent attempt to sketch in the background of a particular segment of the country is worthy of more than passing attention.

Such an effort is comprised in James Boyd's *Drums*. This book has made its strongest appeal to the literary critics purely as a work of art. This, his first novel, has given Mr. Boyd a most enviable place among craftsmen. One may open it anywhere and rejoice in the strength and suppleness of the style, its grace, its precision, the extraordinary rightness of every part of the work. Nor is it to be described as purely a stylistic triumph. The dramatic element is skillfully handled. Indeed, the fight between the *Serapis* and the *Bonhomme Richard* is so fine a battle-piece that its contemplation brings to mind great lords of fiction—Conrad, Zola, Hugo.

But while *Drums* is a notable artistic success, it carries the additional value of a social historical document. The question of its historical accuracy is a question of interpretation. In so far as facts are concerned the author has followed standard authorities faithfully, except in two minor episodes, both carefully noted. *Drums* is a story of Revolutionary days in North Carolina. It is a story of the welding of a nation out of dissimilar and

sometimes antagonistic elements, that is to say, it is the first chapter of a continued story that has run for a hundred and fifty years and that is still unfinished.

But to the state with which it deals it has another value. No history of North Carolina can overlook the contribution to the state made by one element of its racial stock, namely, the Highland Scotch who filled the Cape Fear River valley between 1750 and 1850. Although immigration from Scotland has been all but imperceptible for the better part of a century, that group has never been absorbed completely into the rest of the population. It remains to this day easily distinguishable, a hardy breed, stern, vigorous, dominant, not to say domineering. One who understands the Highland Scotch has gone a long way toward understanding North Carolina, not of the past alone, but North Carolina of the present as well.

In John Fraser, father of the hero of *Drums*, Mr. Boyd presents a Highland Scot of the better type who will be recognized by anyone familiar with southeastern North Carolina. John Fraser is not the central figure of the book, but he is worth exceedingly careful study, because he has great-grandsons by the hundred who resemble him closely.

There is no more magnificent specimen of manhood than the Highland Scot at his best. Mentally and physically he is worthy of the phrase beloved of the Hebrew prophets—he is a mighty man of valor. There may be pleasanter men, friendlier men, men whose minds are more agile and keen, as there certainly are handsomer men; but for courage, truth and devotion their superior is not found. John Fraser is the Scottish gentleman, dour of aspect and hard of hand, inarticulate when he is deeply moved but capable of deep emotion, capable of

marvelous tenderness as he is capable of martyrdom. He is not prettified. His forbidding aspect is not slighted, even in its ludicrous phrases. Yet one understands completely why young Johnny Fraser held for old John that affectionate respect that would make him, when his own head had grown white, wish in all sincerity that he might be half the man his father was. Contemplation of John Fraser leads to a clearer understanding of much of the history, not of North Carolina alone, but of every section of America in which the Highland Scots constitute a perceptible part of the population. There is iron in that blood, and wherever it is present, even though it be in the minority, it will be apparent.

From the Revolution to the present is but a hairsbreadth by comparison with the tremendous jump from a Scottish gentleman to a negro beggar, but as a portrait gallery of southern types *Drums* is hardly more striking than DuBose Heyward's *Porgy*. This is the first prose book of the man who is regarded by many respectable critics as the most distinguished Southern poet now living. It is the story of a black man in an environment totally beyond his comprehension, much less his control. Porgy is a crippled negro whose livelihood is gained by begging on the streets of Charleston, South Carolina. But that is incidental. Porgy is first of all a human soul struggling with the mystery and pain of life, the sport of pitiless and ironic destiny.

It is a poet's book, the work of a man intensely sensitive to beauty in every form but, since he is a true poet, a man abhorring anything that verges upon false sentiment. Not often has America

produced a book so full of sheer loveliness and yet so free of pathos. The denizens of Catfish Row, which was not a row at all, but a great mansion where years before "governors had come and gone and ambassadors of kings had schemed and danced," live and move and have their being in the world of a poet's fancy, where light and shade are accentuated, where form and movement and color are given all their values, a mystical and magic world. But for all that, there are still recognizable negroes, veritable men and women whose stark realism is often as much more poignant than the work of the photographic school of realists as the realism of a Rembrandt is more poignant than that of a camera study.

Among Southerners *Porgy* is likely to give rise to dissensions, for it is written in the Charleston dialect, which is apt to be unfamiliar to the reader a hundred miles distant. Black Charleston, as well as white Charleston, has its own accent, which sounds a bit theatrical in alien ears, but is none the less authentic.

It is not as a social document that this book should be read, but at that it invites the speculative philosopher. The portrayal of the superstition of the negro is done with admirable effect. It is not used for comic relief, although the comedy inherent in it is met squarely and admitted for what it is. It is rather recognized as the natural resultant of man's intelligence impinging upon the vast mystery that surrounds him. One sees in its ludicrous and tragic aspects only a particular reaction—that of the negro—to stimuli that every member of the race at one time or another has felt in one form or another.

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THE SEARCH AFTER VALUES

BIOGRAPHY UNCHAINED

GERALD W. JOHNSON

THE ART—or the science, or the craft—of biography has of late assumed an interest and a charm which offer the suggestion of a serious threat to the fictioneer's commercial supremacy among the *literati*. Things have come to such a pass that a good biography today is as sound a financial investment for a publisher as a novel about a cowboy on the western plains and a schoolma'am from Boston. The things not only sell, but sell at prices which Harold Bell Wright himself has never been able to command. The average price of a volume of biography probably comes nearer to five dollars than to two, the standard price of fiction, and a multiplicity of two-volume lives at ten dollars the set appeared in publishers' catalogues for 1925.

The secret is that the art, or the science, or the craft, has lately experienced the attentions of an Emancipator. Whether the wonder was worked by the American, Gamaliel Bradford, or by the Englishman, Lytton Strachey, is as yet a controverted point, but no doubt remains that the wonder has been worked. Biography is free. The fetters of old conventions have been burst, and new ones are not yet forged. Within a few years, perhaps, we shall develop a new set of conventions and biography will be differently, but as strictly, limited as it was of old. For

the moment, though, one may expect absolutely anything on opening a new biography. It may be a Bradford psychograph. It may be a Strachey composition in the manner of a landscape painter. It may be a rival of Beveridge's cosmography named after a man. It may be a cartoon, or a caricature, or it may be a futuristic production composed of lightning-flashes and whirling spokes. And, of course, it may be simply an old-fashioned biography.

This uncertainty may possibly be bad for the art, or the science, or the craft, but it adds enormously to the zest of the reader. It converts the reading of biography from a duty into a recreation—indeed, it has made such reading a popular pastime in America, as the account-books of the publishers show. Here, for example, is an armful of books on the desk of the writer, all taken from the lists of the last few months, but presenting a variety so startling that it seems impossible for the single word "biography" to cover them all. Yet they all deal with historical personages, they are about men and women who actually lived, so what else is one to call them? It is a temptation to embezzle a term from the sociologists and refer to them as "case studies," but that would doubtless be doing still greater violence to language; although, indeed, the student of sociology

has in these cases a marvelous opportunity to increase his knowledge as well as his pleasure.

Here, then, to select the most impressive in appearance for first consideration, in Aaron Burr¹ in two volumes and a bright blue box. Mr. Burr has been done handsomely, both by his publishers and by his biographers. Messrs. Putnam have contributed dark silk cloth, gilt tops, fine, clear type and superb illustrations—a really distinguished format. Messrs. Wandell and Minnigerode have contributed a sincere desire to give their subject the benefit of every doubt, backed by formidable skill at special pleading. They have unearthed a mass of unpublished material, and they have at least made it possible to understand how Burr got away with all that he did. To make out a perfect case for Burr it would be necessary, of course, to demolish two individuals named Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson. This Messrs. Wandell and Minnigerode have not quite succeeded in doing, although not for lack of trying. They do take a good deal of the polish off Hamilton, leaving him without much in the way of honor, veracity or private character, but without damaging his intellectual ascendancy. The case against Jefferson, however, is based almost entirely on inference and innuendo, as the case against Jefferson has always been based. If one has always believed that Jefferson was a rogue, then here is a good deal of corroborative evidence; but if one believes that Jefferson was an honest, if somewhat suspicious and perplexed, citizen, the case against him seems pretty weak as it is presented in this book. It is fairly obvious that

Mr. Minnigerode did most of the writing. His easy, captivating style marks it throughout and makes it one of the most readable books of the year.

To jump at once from entertainment to edification, here is a modern book of martyrs² that has a special appeal to Americans, since it was on American soil that their blood was shed. It is an account of the Jesuit Fathers of the seventeenth century who fell victims to the only original and genuine 100 per cent Americans, the Indian savages. The book is issued under distinguished auspices, bearing the *imprimatur* of Cardinal Hayes, and is, as one would expect, a reverential story of heroes of the faith.

Not martyrdom, exactly, but something that to him must have resembled it befell that delight of our century and ornament of Indiana, Thomas Riley Marshall, when he was immured for eight years in the political and intellectual dungeon of the Vice-Presidency. But spiritually Marshall survived, and his bright spirit still survives in the tales³ of his own experience that he clearly intended to call "A Hoosier Salad," but which he did not live to see published. Not much of this book will go into the historians' archives, perhaps, but an immense amount of it will go into the hearts of plain Americans, who remember Marshall, not as a political personage more or less imposing, but as the incomparable sage who discovered that "what this country needs is a good five-cent cigar." The book is almost a compendium of pleasantries, but so good-hu-

¹ *Aaron Burr*. By Samuel H. Wandell and Meade Minnigerode. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1925. Vol. I, 354 pp. Vol. II, 324 pp. With 64 illustrations.

² *The Jesuit Martyrs of North America*. By John J. Wynne, S. J. New York: The Universal Knowledge Foundation. 1925. 246 pp. With three illustrations and three maps. \$1.50.

³ *Recollections of Thomas R. Marshall*. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Co. 1925. 396 pp. Illustrated. \$5.00.

mored, so gay, and so pointed with homely philosophy that no one can take it otherwise than blithely.

Next in the pile is a life of Jesus, written by an advertising man⁴ who says, "he was the great advertiser of his own day" and "the founder of modern business." It gives us no new information about Jesus, but to our knowledge of what modern advertising men are capable of it adds an appalling item.

But if the suggestion that Rotary is the real Gospel and George F. Babbitt the promised Messiah is a startling one, no less startling to sound Democrats and Republicans will be the suggestion that politics is the true religion and partisanship the Church. Some of us may act as if we believed it, but few of us will admit it. Among certain radicals, however, the doctrine is nothing new or strange, and it goes far to explain such amazing phenomena as Rosa Luxemburg. To most Americans Rosa Luxemburg is still no more than a shadow, a vague bogey that suddenly materialized among the crowd of monsters that swarmed in our minds as the late war ended, but that later disappeared, we hardly know how. To such Americans it will be a curious experience to find in her letters⁵ a vivid, human personality, a veritable woman in the mask of the Valkyrie. But to the student who is familiar only with our own Laodicean politics the most interesting thing in the book is the consuming flame, the true religious zeal, that is revealed as the radical's party loyalty. Rosa Luxemburg, when she was not "spreading ruin and scattering ban" among sovereigns,

⁴ *The Man Nobody Knows.* By Bruce Barton. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Co. 1925. 220 pp. \$2.50.

⁵ *Letters of Rosa Luxemburg to Karl and Luise Kautsky.* Edited by Luise Kautsky. New York: Robert M. McBride and Co. 1925. viii, 238 pp. \$2.50.

statesmen and generals, apparently was a whole-souled, jolly, likeable individual; but always and everywhere she was a white-hot partisan. It is shocking to think of so much power gone to waste.

As an appropriate foil, one may pick up a little book⁶ on the great Russian emperor, Peter, which compresses into its 152 pages more literary dynamite than is to be found in many a long shelf of stately tomes. All reviewers agree that this is the most furious book that appeared in English during the year. It is thunder and lightning from start to finish, so extremely far from the ordinary run of biographies that the publisher actually listed it as a historical novel. Yet when one has finished it a definite picture remains in the mind. One has a new understanding, not only of Peter the Great, but of the tremendous epic of Russia struggling out of barbarism. Here is the ape-man, slowly and painfully acquiring a soul, here is the horde slowly and painfully becoming a nation. It may be a horrible book, this product of the new Germany, but it certainly is not a weak one. If the American edition is one of the notable literary events of the year, much of the credit goes to the man who made the superb translation.

Then for relief from the mighty, but terrible, Russian, what could serve better than an account of the early Quakers? Mary Agnes Best has collected a series⁷ of accounts of men and women such as George Fox, Margaret Fell, William Penn and others whose names are enshrined as martyrs and heroes in the history of the Society of Friends. But the book should

⁶ *Peter the Czar.* By Klabund, translated from the German by Herman George Scheffauer. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1925. 152 pp.

⁷ *Rebel Saints.* By Mary Agnes Best. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co. 1925. xi, 333 pp. With eight illustrations from old prints. \$3.00.

have a wider appeal than to Quakers alone, for it is skillfully and pleasantly written and the sort of thing with which it deals fortunately is not a monopoly of any sect. Here is that fortitude, that serenity in adversity, that sublimity of spirit which, in the founders of every great religion, has confounded scoffers and, without visible weapons, has brought material force to its knees. It is a book about Quakers, true, but it is primarily a book about the sort of religion that upon countless hosts outside of the Society of Friends has conferred "the peace of God which passeth all understanding."

And so, by a transition natural and understandable to psychologists, if not to logicians, one comes to Lord Timothy Dexter.⁸ No one has ever accused Lord Timothy of holding religion as his paramount interest, but he was interested in everything, as became him who admitted that he was "first in the East, first in the West and the greatest philosopher in the Western World." In the career of the crack-brained old merchant of Newburyport Mr. Marquand has seen a gesture of defiance of destiny. It is a plausible theory, for there was something magnificent in Timothy Dexter. He sent mittens and warming-pans to the West Indies and coal to Newcastle, all to his profit. He converted his wife into a ghost without troubling to put her to death. He wrote a book and put all the punctuation marks into an appendix. By these things he is remembered, but it remained for Mr. Marquand to see behind it all something vast and far from ridiculous. The result is that he has produced a book that is immensely entertaining and a bit impressive. The effect is enhanced

⁸ *Lord Timothy Dexter of Newburyport, Mass.* By J. P. Marquand. New York: Minton, Balch and Co. 1925. 377 pp. With illustrations by Philip Kappel. \$3.50.

by the quaint, surprising and extraordinarily effective illustrations supplied by Mr. Kappel. It is undoubtedly one of the treasures of the year's biographical writing.

Finally there remains a book about Russia by Katharine Anthony, whose great namesake is the subject.⁹ This life of Catherine II, although it has been reserved for the last, is certainly not surpassed in craftsmanship by any of the others. Miss Anthony has done good biography before, but she has never produced any more delightful reading than is in this book. She is a careful student of the new biography, and does not hesitate to introduce its method into her own work, although she adheres rigidly to the old form. The result is a book that is always suave, always polished, and not infrequently brilliant. She has chosen the heroine of a thousand erotic legends, the maker of an astounding career, and the target of unnumbered bitter and vindictive assaults; but she quietly and competently avoids the traps in her path, falling not into eroticism, sensationalism, or sentimentalism. She faces the truth about Catherine squarely and tells it calmly; and with equal calm she punctures the lies. Consequently, she is convincing. One inevitably feels that here at last is the Russian empress to the life. That may be an illusion, but the point is, it works. Therefore the book is a highly successful biography.

Finally, at the bottom of the pile, there is a book that perhaps ought not to be there at all. Walter Lippmann would not willingly admit that his latest book¹⁰ is in any sense autobiographical, but Tory

⁹ *Catherine the Great.* By Katharine Anthony. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1925. 331 pp. Illustrated. \$4.00.

¹⁰ *The Phantom Public.* By Walter Lippmann. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co. 1925. 205 pp. \$2.00.

critics with one consent have gleefully pointed out that it is in essence an intellectual autobiography. It marks, they say, the end of Lippmann's adventure in liberalism. It is a discussion of majority rule, which Mr. Lippmann frankly admits does not exist, and which he thinks will never exist under our present social organization. But the Tory critics' assumption is that to admit the obvious is to abandon liberalism, whereas the

adoption of a realistic viewpoint must be the beginning of liberalism, if liberalism is to be a permanent force. Undoubtedly, though, *The Phantom Public* does mark an important change in the direction of Mr. Lippmann's thinking, and therefore will be of prime importance to his future biographer. It is of importance also to everyone who has followed the work of this publicist, who stands today one of the most important in the country.

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THE SEARCH AFTER VALUES

ART, ARTISTS AND A RESURRECTION

GERALD W. JOHNSON

THE outrageous Mr. Mencken repudiated his own canon recently and turned constructive critic. By implication he asserted that inanity need not necessarily characterize the leisure hours of the American *bourgeois gentilhomme*. He declared that Mr. Babbitt, if he would put his mind to it, might get much more fun out of the arts and sciences than out of golf and the social activities of the Rotary Club. This is certainly plausible, and probably true; but there is a drawback. How is Mr. Babbitt, with the best will in the world, to put his mind to occupations about which he has not a scintilla of reliable information? A man need not be a virtuoso to enjoy the fine arts, but a little knowledge of them is needed to make any sort of start toward appreciation, and the average American must take thought if he is to acquire that little, for certainly he will not absorb it from his environment.

A man or woman in a small Southern town, for instance, may yearn to keep in touch with what is going on in the artistic world, but no amount of yearning will accomplish anything without some intelligent planning and activity. The literary world, of course, is opened readily enough merely by keeping in touch with the publishers' lists. Of late, however, the publishers have been offering something more. The craze for com-

pendiums, anthologies, "best" books, Best Short Stories, Best Plays, and the like, has inspired one house to issue an annual collection covering one important field of graphic art, namely, etching and engraving.

For three years *Fine Prints* has appeared annually. The current edition¹ carries 75 plates gathered from the year's work of British and American artists, with a fine introduction by Malcolm C. Salaman. The reproductions are beautifully done, some of them in tints. Etchings and engravings, of course, lend themselves to reproduction much more readily than any sort of color-work, so the result is that the possessor of this volume, although he may be remote from any important gallery, has a representation of the work of contemporary artists in which their individuality is preserved to a remarkable extent. For half the price of a single original etching, one is enabled to follow the trend of modern thought in the whole field. It is difficult to imagine a single volume that offers a wider and more varied acquaintance with the artists of the present.

It possesses practical value for the aspiring collector as well as for the student, because at the back there is a directory of

¹ *Fine Prints of 1925*. Edited by Malcolm C. Salaman, Honorary Fellow, Royal Society of Painters-Enchers and Engravers. New York: Minton, Balch & Co. 1926. 16, xxiii pp., 75 illustrations. \$10. 602 pp.

American and British etchers and engravers with a list of the plates published during the year and the names of their dealers. It is possible through this directory to gain possession of an original of your favorite artist, if you are disposed to do so.

The life of an artist has furnished one of the most popular biographies of the year. This is an account of Renoir² by his friend Ambroise Vollard. Mr. Vollard does not mislabel his work when he calls it "an intimate record." It is just that. There is little or no attempt at appraisal of Renoir as a painter. Vollard assumes that that is unnecessary, and devotes himself to an effort to illuminate the man by recording his ideas on all sorts of subjects. To this sort of treatment the famous artist was admirably adapted. A hearty individual, this Renoir—a man of genius, but with not a bit of nonsense about him, a man with an extremely sensitive eye for form and color, but also a man solidly planted on the solid earth. He had a tongue, too, and he was able to tell why he disliked artists whom he did dislike with a pretty taste for the blistering word. It is not a book to recommend to Puritans and perhaps it is not just the thing for a Sunday-school library, but to him who has a keen appetite for strong, racy individualities it is a delight forever.

Speaking of the fine arts, Putnam has produced a companion volume to *The Complete Opera Book* called *How Music Grew*.³ It is an account of the development of the youngest of the arts, done more or less allegorically. It is not a

book for professional musicians or for advanced students. It is intended for the great throng of listeners who never will be anything but listeners, but without whom the art never could have flourished. Nevertheless, it is sound enough musical history. Without pretending to be exhaustive, it does give the reader a fairly clear idea of the relative position of the great musicians of the world, and some notion of what the masters were about. It ought to be of material assistance in the task of creating in America a great body of intelligent listeners, which is a prerequisite to the creation of great American music. To that extent it is of service to the art, and to the extent to which it enables him to listen to music more intelligently it is of notable service to the individual.

An art of a different genre but certainly of no less importance is treated in a new life of Washington Irving.⁴ It is not the art of literature, either, but the infinitely rarer and more difficult art of being a gentleman. Mr. Hellman describes his hero as "Ambassador at large from the New World to the Old." It is a formidable title, but he makes a manful and not altogether unsuccessful effort to prove that Washington Irving deserved it. In a day when living seems to have degenerated from an art to a business in America it is refreshing to turn again to a man and a time when it was recognized that an individual well born and well educated owed it to the world as well as to himself to cultivate the graces of civilized existence and to present to the world an aspect of pleasantness as well as probity.

To this ideal Irving devoted himself consistently. His literary talent did not

² *Renoir: An Intimate Record.* By Ambroise Vollard. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1925. 248 pp. with 26 illustrations. \$3.

³ *How Music Grew.* By Marion Bauer and Ethel Peyer. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1925. 602 pp. with 64 illustrations.

⁴ *Washington Irving, Esq.* By George S. Hellman. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1925. 354 pp. with 16 illustrations.

rise so close to genius as to interfere with his innate urbanity. Writers of the first order of greatness are rarely mild-mannered, sweet-tempered gentlemen, but there is some reason for believing that the world, at least in 1926, is as much or more in need of gentlemen than it is in need of geniuses. At the same time, Mr. Hellman does not concede for a moment that Irving was anything but a robustly masculine type.

The Duke University Press adds to available southern historical material a life of John Slidell⁵ by Louis Martin Sears. Slidell is one of those historical figures whose fate it is to be remembered by a phrase because they were caught and fixed forever by some tremendous event. The greatness of the crisis saps the individuality out of them, and they remain the driest of dry husks, a name without a personality. For example, who was Dixon, of Mason and Dixon? Who was Harper, of the Ferry? Who was Ford, of the theater?

To the present generation have come down two names well-nigh as completely dissociated from any personality as are

⁵ *John Slidell*. By Louis Martin Sears. Durham: The Duke University Press. 1925. 252 pp. with three portraits. \$2.50.

those cited. Modern youth puts into a single category such vocables as Mason and Dixon, Mason and Hamlin, and Mason and Slidell. Two Confederate envoys were taken in high-handed fashion off a British steamer, and a collision between the United States and Great Britain was averted only by a hair's breadth. But the envoys remain as impersonal as the bunting that goes to make up a national flag.

To pump the personality back into Slidell has been Mr. Sears' formidable task. In so far as the early years are concerned, the biographer confesses failure; but from the time Slidell appeared as a power in Louisiana politics there was enough in his career to furnish a fine, colorful story. A man whose lot it was to match wits, not without success, against such formidable personages as Santa Anna, Palmerston, Disraeli and Louis Napoleon, a man who had admittedly made one President of the United States and had been high in the councils of two governments, necessarily had woven bright streaks of color into his career. The recording of that career as competently as it is here recorded is a worthy contribution to the preservation of sectional history.

JOSEPH C. LOGAN, SOCIAL WORKER: A TRIBUTE¹

HOWARD W. ODUM

IF I were to label this sketch accurately, I should call it the short story of one worker, born in Georgia, trained in the arts and social sciences and in public law, devoted to the purposes, ideals and plans of social work,

and known to every social worker of major experience in the National Conference. The narration of details would constitute a most human story, centering around a most human sort of dean of southern social workers, in the midst of human interests with many a keen analysis of social groups.

¹ Reprinted from *The Survey*, April 1, 1920.

Of late, I have been thinking much of the development of social work in the South, in its growing power, the increasing recognition of the trained worker, the stronger grasp and broader scope of public welfare work, and the overcoming of difficulties that have beset the pioneer and social worker of other days. It matters little whether we begin by evaluating the unusual record of social work during the war period just closed; or whether we go back more than a decade and study the persistent, determined and unbroken efforts of able leadership; or whether in the interim between we compare the steady and faithful application of the true principles of scientific welfare work to social service and community problems—the impression is the same. It is a record of substantial achievement wrought out gradually through difficulties. In the recent war work, with its tremendous task of organizing and interpreting new and difficult problems of personal and social service, and of community welfare, the record shows distinctive and gratifying results in the quality of work done, in the training of social workers, and in the degree to which the ideals of social work have permeated the entire territory involved. I have seen here growing up new principles and applications that are bound to affect the whole of social work and the methods of teaching the social sciences in college and university. If, on the other hand, we contemplate what we may call the beginnings of social work in the South, as typified by the early organization of the work in the Gate City, the record is striking in that, beginning with small groups, extending to special circles and interests,

persisting in time of acute difficulties, it has won out through larger applications and broader contacts. And the story, from the beginning, has been the same: now working out essential problems and applications; now leavening the whole lump; now meeting disaster of fire or flood; now promoting community organization and service with far-reaching effect; now contributing to the sum total of the knowledge and theory of social work.

Here, then, is the excellent setting for this representative social worker: Studying facts, making them applicable to folks with human interests and social instincts, utilizing methods, principles, convictions, persistently and almost stubbornly, single-minded, he has achieved results, both small and large, in local, state and sectional applications. He has given himself heedlessly to the work, nevertheless with pride of personality, genius of foresight, a sort of subtle power and ability to "put across" his plans, and a fearless and insatiable ambition for the cause for which he labors. Among his many other characteristics is his ability to influence leadership in varied fields—the men and women interested in civic endeavor, the capitalist interested in philanthropy, leaders in labor reform, the law makers of the land, college professors, university presidents. And with extensive knowledge of movements and men is also the love of quiet philosophy, typical of the just reward of the worker in social welfare who would also become a dreamer. Would that we might chronicle the work of all who have worked with him—of their past, their present, their future—for of such is the new story yet to be told.

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